

Social Work's Changing Task.
An Analysis of the Changing Task of Social Work as seen
through the History and Development of one Scottish
Voluntary Organisation, Family Care.

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a case-study of the historical development of one Scottish voluntary social work agency - Family Care - as a vehicle for exploring the complex and changing nature of the social work task. I argue that social work is best understood as a discursive formation - that is, a collection of contradictory and competing discourses that come together to frame the task of social work, defining not just its capabilities but also its potential. I argue that there is no essential social work task, but that on the contrary, social work has always been subject to competing claims of definition and practice. It is only therefore by exploring the different discourses within social work that we can begin to understand what social work is and might be today.

Family Care, although today a relatively small and specialised voluntary social work agency, offers in its historical development over the last eighty years a useful cross-section of some of the concerns which have been central to the formation of the social work task. The discourses which form the basis of my investigation and analysis are as follows :- vigilance and social purity ; Christian ethics and values ; professionalism ; the "psy" discourse ; feminism and familialism ; welfare ideologies.

I conclude that the very complexity and diversity which is endemic in social work is a cause for optimism. Accepting the limitations and responsibilities which are a necessary part of social work, we should strive to make the social work task as non-oppressive and as just as possible.

DECLARATION

Except where specific reference is made to other sources, the work of this thesis is the original work of the author. It has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other degree.

Viviene Cree

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims in the Research Project

My broad aim in setting out on this research project was to understand social work better - to make sense for myself of the confusing, multi-layered, contradictory nature of social work as it exists today. I hoped that by looking in depth at the development of one agency, an agency which I knew well and which has a long history of involvement in social work in Scotland, some clarity and perhaps even some insight might be possible.

Over and above the general aim, I have had a number of subsidiary objectives which have assumed more or less importance as the research project has unfolded. I have been concerned to emphasise the importance we must place on history - on what has gone before - as a corrective to the notion that only new ideas are valid, and in recognition of the difficulty we inevitably have in defining what is "new" in the first place. I have therefore looked for ideas and practices in social work which have been discontinued, as well as ideas and practices which have continued to play a part in some way in framing the task of social work.

I have also tried to tell some of the untold stories in social work - to give attention to the many unheard voices of those who have taken part in the social work

enterprise. Most histories of social work have been written by social work managers or academics ; there have also been a number of studies from the service-users' viewpoint. In this research, the contribution of committee members, volunteers and paid social workers stands alongside the input of agency directors and other professionals in Family Care's network, thus providing a much more rounded picture of the struggles to define and create the social work task.

Finally, my aim has been to be as open and as honest as possible in the research process. This has implied sharing some of my ideas along the way with respondents, colleagues and friends, and seeking their interpretations of events and practices of which they have been a part. I have endeavoured not to hide behind a facade of neutral researcher or worse still, privileged expert. Rather, the research has been an opportunity for me to learn from others, and hopefully for them to increase their understanding of their history at the same time.¹ I am indebted to the staff and committee members of Family Care for making this research possible.

1.2 Family Care - A Brief History

Family Care began in 1911 as the National Vigilance Association of Scotland (Eastern Division). Its work was vigilance and preventive work : patrolling the streets and stations, providing support and accommodation for

young women who were seen as vulnerable (principally the homeless and the unemployed), and campaigning for tighter legislation at local government and central government level to control immorality and sexual exploitation. Court work was also an important part of the early work - staff visited the courts regularly, took on referrals of girls and sexual abuse cases, and acted as probation officers for young women.

In 1941, the organisation changed its name to the Guild of Service for Women, reflecting a change which had taken place in its work away from vigilance concerns towards providing a casework service, under the much broader remit of moral welfare work. The agency's clients were increasingly women with illegitimate pregnancies and unmarried mothers. Over the next 20 years, services were developed to meet the needs of these women - children's homes, long-term fostering arrangements, support for women who kept their babies, and the service which was to take over as the major focus of the agency in the 1970s - adoption.

In 1959, the words "for women" were dropped from the title of the agency. This was a very important change, because it marked a move away from services set up to help women, towards a service which was to be geared around children, and the needs of children. From then on, all decisions about fostering, adoption and

residential childcare were made in what was held to be "the best interests of the child". The agency was at the forefront of the movement for professional social work and permanent solutions for children. Adoption became the favoured solution for those unable to care for their children, and residential care and fostercare became short-term arrangements on the road towards permanent placement.

Since the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 and Local Government re-organisation of 1975, the agency has struggled to cope with a diminishing role and a challenge to its existence. As the local authority has gradually taken over more and more of the services for children, so this agency has toiled to find and to hold onto a place for itself in the social work scene. It has lost the high position it once maintained as an initiator and developer of services; its future is far from certain.

In 1978, the Guild of Service again changed its name to Family Care, in recognition of the need to find a more modern, acceptable image which could reflect a variety of different kinds of work. Today, Family Care provides some limited support to single parent families through a volunteer befriending scheme ; it runs a centre for women and children in a deprived housing scheme ; and it operates an Adoption Counselling Service on all aspects of adoption. It has no children's homes, no foster

parents, and does no recruitment of adoptive placements or placing of children in adoptive families. Attempts to set up a new residential unit for mothers and children have failed to win sufficient financial support. The student unit which has trained successive generations of social workers since 1960 also closed in 1989. It remains to be seen how the agency will adapt to the new climate in social work philosophy and practice - new ideas which will place statutory authorities in the role of service brokers, not service providers, with a possible increased role for the voluntary sector. (See Figure 1 The Social Work Task, 1911-1991 and Figure 2 Important Dates in Family Care's History)

1.3 The Case-Study Approach

The question remains - what relevance does the history of this agency have for the whole of social work? How can I expect to generalise from such a particular, idiosyncratic setting? What can this agency's development tell us about social work in hospitals, in residential homes for the elderly or in prisons; in rural Aberdeenshire, in Glasgow or in Kent?

The common-sense answer has to be that I *cannot* explain the whole history of social work by examining this one, unique agency. This organisation can never represent all the changes which have taken place throughout the disparate, complex world of social work. But this is one

of the main points which I will be making in the thesis - that social work has been and remains an arena of contestation, always "up for grabs.". There are no agreed guidelines or written rules about what social work is and should be. Therefore this agency, which grew out of a national, U.K.-wide organisation, reflects one of the ways in which social work has emerged. It is this emergence and the struggle to define itself which I am calling the "changing social work task".

There are strands within this agency's history which will be seen across all social work settings - the movement towards professionalisation ; the adoption of ideas drawn from psychoanalysis and psychology ; the influence of new ideas about childhood development, loss and separation. There are also themes which take greater prominence in this agency than in other settings - the vigilance work ; the impact of the social changes which have affected the lives of women, including greater availability of contraception, abortion ; and women's increased participation in the workforce. This is a major strength of the case-study approach - that we have immediate access both to general and to specific themes. The unusual or atypical themes are of particular interest,² since their existence invites us to consider in a new light some general themes, for example, the strong connections between vigilance work and the social control element within social work.

A case-study such as this also offers a fresh look at the conventions of history-telling within social work. There have been a great many accounts of the development of social work written already - histories of the childcare service, of probation, of voluntary social services and of social work itself. Most of these studies read as overviews - as generalised studies which give the impression of incremental change, a broad consensus and steady progress towards an ever-improving service.³

I hope that my case-study of Family Care will provide a useful alternative and even a corrective to these more global accounts. By a detailed examination of how the changing task of social work has come about within one organisation, we can discover not just *what* happened, but *how* and *why* the shift came about, and what the consequences have been for the individuals at the centre of these changes. Social work's persistent need to recreate itself has led at times to a discrediting of practices and people along the way. More fundamentally, in denying its past heritage, social work loses touch with some of its past knowledge and experience - the ever-shifting pendulum which exists in decision-making in childcare illustrates this well. An analysis of Family Care takes us close to some of these processes - the broader sweeps of change and the minute details about how these changes have been experienced by the individuals concerned with them.

The case-study approach has been widely used in the social sciences. Psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists have all used case-studies for their own ends and in rather different ways. Historically, the term "case-study" has carried a heavy burden of connotations going beyond the literal meaning of the words to include ideas such as an emphasis on subjective meanings, and the use of life histories and participant observation techniques.⁴ (Howard Becker, 1968, has been particularly successful with this method.⁵) But not all case-studies are life-histories, and quantitative as well as qualitative research methods have both featured in case-study approaches.

It has not been my intention to use a participant observation and symbolic interactionist approach - to display Family Care as an exotic world to be entered into and studied for its own sake. On the contrary, I have been more interested to use Family Care as a vehicle to explore more abstract ideas, which are about change, about continuity, and about the workings of power and discourse. Mitchell (1983)⁶ writes :-

"Since the analyst's purpose is to demonstrate how general explanatory principles manifest themselves in the course of some ongoing set of events, the particular set of events is in itself a subsidiary consideration."

As I have said, the case-study approach can encompass a wide range of research methods and sources of data-collection. I have therefore employed a whole range of research methods and forms of analysis in my study of Family Care - interviewing, documentary research, the synthesis of existing historical studies, quantitative data, organisational analysis, and, in the specific sense of having been part of the organisation for seven years prior to the start of the research, I have been able to draw on background knowledge and experience which may in certain ways be similar to participant observation. (For more on research methods, see Chapter Three.)

In conclusion, this research project cannot, and does not intend to tell the whole story of social work. Family Care is a unique agency with a particular historical development, and yet I believe it has been subject to some of the many different influences which have shaped social work as a whole. The weakness inherent in using a case-study (its smallness of scale, its uniqueness) has therefore turned out to be its main strength (its capacity for in-depth analysis by placing it in the wider social work context.)

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis uses the concept of the changing social work task as a way of holding together the complex diversity

of theories and activities, knowledge and values (that is, the discourses) which have come together to make up the phenomenon we know as social work (or in other words, the social work discursive formation). Chapter Two, **Conceptual Approaches**, discusses this, and other theoretical concepts used in the research, in more detail. Chapter Three, **Research Methods and Process**, outlines the methodology and actual outcomes of the research process.

I have chosen to structure the thesis in a broadly chronological way, so that the discourses (ideas and practices) which I have selected as significant in the development of the social work task within Family Care will be introduced in their chronological sequence. This does not imply that one strand begins when another one ends. On the contrary, there is a large degree of overlap between each of the subjects. It is this very overlap, and the relation between the different discourses, which forms the central core of my analysis of the changing task of social work.

I have identified six main discourses which have come together and assumed significance at different points in Family Care's history. I have called the first of these, examined in Chapter Four, **Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement**. Chapter Four analyses the roots of the vigilance work in the National Vigilance Association

(NVA) ; its appearance in Edinburgh in 1911 ; its activities and its pre-occupations ; and the shift which took place in this agency away from vigilance work towards casework. I will examine why the agency changed its direction ; what happened to the vigilance work on a national basis ; and where we might see echoes of vigilance work and moral policing today.

Chapter Five, **Secularisation and Social Work**, takes rather a different tack, and explores the impact of Christian ideology on the formation of social work theory and practice. I am interested to explore the changing influence of the institution of the church on the organisation and the activities of this agency. I am also interested to find out how far the outward picture of secularisation has affected the personal value-bases and beliefs of the paid and unpaid workers.

Chapter Six, **The Professionalisation of Social Work**, looks at the process of professionalisation as it has taken place within social work. I will be asking - what is a profession? ; why did social workers want to become recognised as professionals? ; how did they go about this? ; what were the consequences of professionalisation, intended and unintended? The story of the professionalisation of social work has been a very popular one. We are all familiar with accounts of "ladies bountiful", of "do-gooders" and of unsystematic

social work practice, and their displacement in the era of professionalisation. What has been less visible up to now is the personal dimension - the losses as well as the gains which have accompanied the process of professionalisation in social work.

Chapter Seven, **The Psychiatric Deluge?** addresses the popular notion of the "psychiatric deluge", and asks whether this agency might shed light on the debate about the impact of psychology and psychoanalysis on the British social work scene. Again, Family Care provides useful, real-life illustrations of an agency striving to be in the forefront of new ideas and new practices. This agency sought to be a trend-setter - to set an example which others, local authorities and voluntary agencies alike, should follow. We can therefore find unusual examples of actual attempts to use theory in practice, and to use research as a basis for setting priorities. Although the issue of psychology and psychoanalysis clearly arises out of the context of professionalisation, providing as it did much of the new knowledge-base on which professionalisation built its legitimacy, it is important enough to be examined in its own right. This is because it is here that we can uncover the origins of the new attitudes towards the needs of children - new attitudes which were to cause a total re-think in service-delivery in the period 1950s to 1970s. The influence of psychoanalysis on social work will be

analysed as part of a much wider adoption of "psy" discourses which have effectively contributed to a transformation of the relation between the family and the state.

Chapter Eight, **Women and the Social Work Task** gives prominence to the competing and contradictory discourses around women in this agency and in social work - women in their positions as service-users, service-providers and service-managers. This thesis is unapologetically a women's story. Family Care is an organisation which has always been a women's organisation, with women clients, women workers, both paid and unpaid, and women managers. It therefore provides a perfect opportunity to test out and examine the seeming paradox that a women's occupation such as social work has been responsible for promulgating a specific set of sexist assumptions about women and their role in the family and in society. Social work, while fighting to create its own territory, has at the same time presented a view of what the family should be, and of what correct behaviour is for men, women and children. An analysis of Family Care's development will help to unpick some of these interconnecting threads.

Chapter Nine, **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**, turns to the relationship between statutory and voluntary social services. I will examine the way in which the balance has shifted over who *should* and *can* provide

social welfare. I will ask the questions - what is the role for a voluntary agency such as this one, in the light of the ever-increasing realm of statutory social work? What is the new relationship between statutory and voluntary organisations in the post-Griffiths Report era? The history of Family Care exemplifies the changing way in which the state has sought to care for and control its citizens, and gives us access to the ever-present controversies about the role of welfare and how it should best be administered.

Chapter Ten, **The Social Work Task : Discourse and Power**, provides an overview of the themes and discourses analysed in the thesis, and goes on to examine the future task for social work in the years ahead.

Figure 1
The Social Work Task, 1911–1991

National Vigilance Association, 1911–1941
 Guild of Service, 1941–1978
 Family Care, 1978–1991

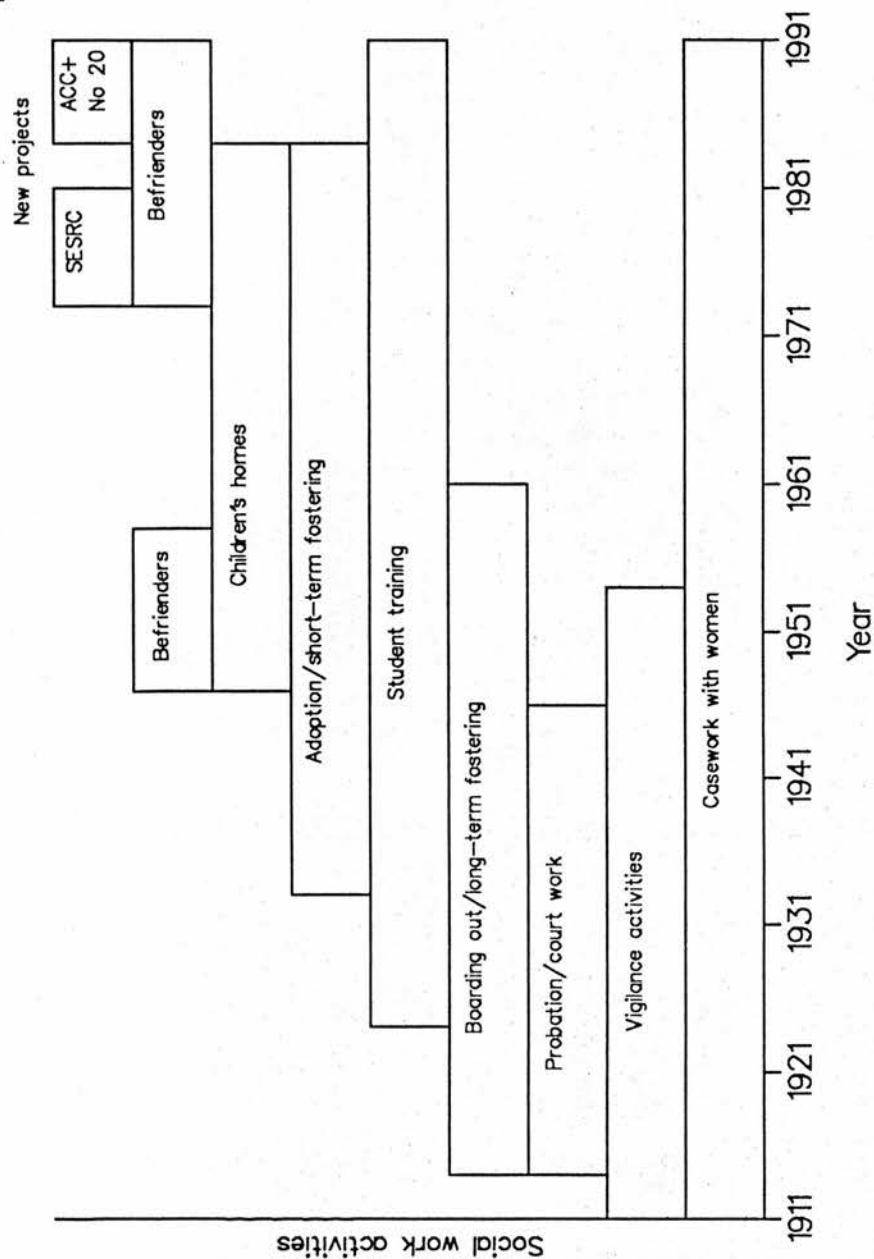


Figure 1 - Notes

1. Source - Agency annual reports and minute books, 1911-1991

2. I have selected the major activities of the agency and mapped them chronologically, to show the continuities and the overlappings ; the beginnings and the endings of various strands in the agency.

3. SESRC refers to the South East Scotland Resource Centre, an adoption clearing house for "hard to place" children, which was situated within, and managed by Family Care.

4. ACC refers to the Adoption Counselling Centre, which began its life as the East of Scotland Adoption Advice Centre (ESAAC) but grew to take on enquiries from all over Scotland. Family Care also holds the Birth Link Register for all those who wish to contact their birth parents, and I include Birth Link within the general ACC work.

5. No 20 is Family Care's centre for women and children in the Muirhouse council housing scheme on the north side of Edinburgh.

Figure 2 Important Dates in Family Care's History

1875 Criminal Law (Amendment) Act; formation of NVA

1911 NVA (Eastern Division) is formed in Edinburgh

1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act

1946 Clyde Committee set up in Scotland

1948 Children Act

1948 National Assistance Act

1961-1963 McBoyle Committee on the neglect of children in their own homes

1961-1964 Kilbrandon Committee on juvenile delinquents and juveniles in need of care

1963 Children and Young Persons' Act

1966 White Paper, Social Work and the Community

1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act

1969 Abortion Act

1969 Aves Report on Volunteers and Social Services

1969 Houghton Committee on Adoption

1973 "Children who Wait" published

1975 Local Government Re-organisation

1978 Wolfenden Report on welfare pluralism

1981 Lothian policy document - "A Time of Change"

1982 Barclay Report on community social work

1983 Lothian policy document - "Youth Strategy"

1988 Griffiths Report on community care

1989 Children Act - to be implemented 1991

1990 NHS and Community Care Act

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

2.1 Development of Ideas in the Research

The impetus to begin this research project came from a coming-together of a number of personal and professional strands. I was employed by Family Care as Practice Teacher, training social work students in the workplace setting. I read and heard a little about Family Care's origins, and found the early stories fascinating and unusual. They seemed to offer a picture of social work and of women's history of which I was totally unaware, and I was highly motivated to find out more. At the same time, I was deeply dissatisfied with my own rudimentary (as it seemed to me) knowledge of social work. Although I had worked as a social worker for twelve years, and had completed a qualifying course (C.Q.S.W.) along the way, there seemed to be so much which was taken for granted about the social work "product". I was keen to learn more, about where social work had come from, and what it was trying to do. Finally, I was on the point of finishing an Open University degree in Sociology, which had introduced me to the sheer joy of tussling with abstract ideas and concepts - I was particularly excited by the ideas of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. I was therefore looking for a way of building on, and extending my O.U. experience. This research project met all three personal and professional requirements.

I began by reading as much as I could lay my hands on - dusty minute books and annual reports, histories of voluntary organisations, histories of social work, endless texts on research methods. I also spoke informally to many interested people - academics, social workers, and especially my supervisors, testing out ideas and clarifying my research topic. For a time, I became so immersed in the new material that I lost sight of some of my existing knowledge and experience - my use of concepts became so fluid that every new person I met, or book I read, seemed to hold the answer to my quest for a conceptual framework and a way to proceed with the research. But gradually, ideas began to take shape which connected with my actual experience of social work practice, and with my profound interest in history and in feminist and Foucauldian theory. It is this mixture of ideas which has proved to be the basis and foundation of the research project.

Probably the biggest shift I have made in the course of the research has been that I no longer see this project as a *social history*. (My first thesis title was **Family Care : A Social History**.) In the early days of the research, I was excited by the potential of this agency's history to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of a range of issues which have affected women's lives in the past and present - sexual behaviour, illegitimate pregnancy, unmarried motherhood, abortion, adoption, the

role of women. I considered interviewing all those involved with the agency - managers, social workers, committee members, service-users - to get a whole picture of their views and experience of these social issues. I identified the oral history method as a useful approach.⁷

As the research progressed, I found myself pulled in a rather different direction. Social histories of sexual attitudes became very topical, with new books published and television programmes appearing on this subject.⁸ Meanwhile my own studies were moving away from an interest in broad social attitudes towards the question of how sexuality came to be defined as a problem requiring action of some kind or another. My new objective became to analyse the *changing definitions of, and solutions towards the problem of the sexuality of young working-class women*. This change in emphasis reflected my growing preference to engage in the process of ideas and concept-formation - the "how" rather than the "what" questions. I was no longer content to simply re-tell the stories of others in the classic oral history tradition. I needed to find some way of structuring my findings and organising my thoughts.

But here I faced a major stumbling-block with my newly-defined objective. Not all the clients of the agency were in fact young working-class women. Service-users have been middle-class, elderly, men, and most

significantly, children. And not all the work of the agency could be defined in terms of control of sexual behaviour. Residential care of children, post-adoption support and counselling, have little or nothing to do with the social problem of young working-class women's sexuality.

This led me into a new possibility. *Organisational analysis* provides a useful framework for looking at different kinds of organisation, as well as a range of models for analysing organisational change. Miller and Rice (1967)⁹ suggest that every enterprise at any given time has a "primary task" - a task which it must perform if it is to survive. But every enterprise also has multiple tasks, and shifts are always taking place in the priority attributed to tasks. Described in different language, change often comes about through "emergent processes" - processes which already exist but may not at the time be recognised as anything new. Emery and Trist (1965)¹⁰ use the term "turbulent" to describe an environment in which multiple factors react with one another, sometimes augmenting each other to produce an unpredictable, radically shifting scene. It is the analysis of these "multiple factors" - the structural factors, internal and external, which impede and encourage change - which forms the basis of the systems approach to organisational analysis, also known as *inter-organisational theory*.¹¹

Organisational, and particularly inter-organisational analysis has been very useful at points in the process of my research on Family Care. I have used organisational theory in the early stages of building up a picture of the agency, thinking about its style of organisation (Handy, 1988¹²) and its model of care (Miller and Gwynne, 1972¹³) and considering how these may have changed over its long history. I have then studied the changing aims and objectives of the agency (defined in its constitution as Objects) to see if I can identify shifts in priority and primary task. I have identified moments in the agency's life when the secondary task of the agency (for example providing adoptive parents for illegitimate children) for a time overtook the initial primary task (of supporting unmarried mothers) to become the new primary task. And I have been well aware of the multiplicity of the factors which have promoted and inhibited change - the in-built resistance to change which is symptomatic of all organisations, and the personal costs inherent for individuals involved in any change. Finally, I have tried to keep the systems approach of inter-organisation theory at the forefront of my analysis, remembering the crucial importance of the many and changing networks of which the agency has been a member.

But this research project is not, in the final summation, an exercise in organisational theory. Many insights from organisational theory have been enmeshed into my study, but this is nevertheless a study of discourse, not organisations. As I have already suggested in Chapter One in my consideration of the case-study approach, this particular agency's history is more than anything a tool - an avenue to explore the broader field of discourse, that is the ideas, values and practices which make up the discursive formation I have chosen to call "the task of social work" - not "task" in the narrow, specific sense of organisational theory, but as a way of encapsulating how social work frames what it does.

It was the realisation that I was studying the social work task which finally pulled everything together for me in an analytical and practical sense. Here was a way of synthesising a number of different threads, and of grounding the thesis in a Foucauldian idea of discourse. (See Section 2.2)

One final point must be made here. Although my focus has become the social work task, I have not chosen to attempt to evaluate one form of social work intervention in comparison with another. I am not interested in whether one mode of action is more or less effective than another. There have been a great many studies over the past twenty years which have attempted to evaluate the

effectiveness of social work practice - analysing the merits of long-term versus short-term intervention, psychoanalytic versus pragmatic approaches, social work with families, social work with children, residential care - and so the list goes on. What emerges from all these studies is that satisfaction with the social work product is extraordinarily difficult to quantify, since it is based on the complex inter-relationships between the client (and her/his personality, perceptions and expectations), the social worker (and the interaction between the two), the agency (including its relative comfort and ease of access) and the nature of the problem and its eventual outcome. This means that satisfaction to one client may not be satisfaction to another, and two clients may view the behaviour of one social worker quite differently.¹⁴ But the complications do not end here. Not only is client satisfaction a relative phenomenon, so is effectiveness of social work intervention. For example, effectiveness may indeed mean client satisfaction, but may also be judged in terms of agency satisfaction, or recidivism rates, or a drop in figures for reception into care, or any other identified yardstick. In other words, effectiveness is defined differently by different actors in the situation.

It is the historical nature of my research project which makes evaluation of effectiveness such an impossibility. In order to ensure that the perceptions I was receiving

were in some way representative and not just unique to the individual, I would need to interview large numbers of people from each historical period. That would mean people who had lived and worked in the children's homes at the same and different points over time ; likewise foster-parents ; adoptive-parents ; adoptees ; volunteers ; single parents and the children of single parents ; counsellees ; No. 20 users ; and all the host of social workers who worked with these different client groups.

There is clearly material here for a number of different theses. At the same time, such detailed analysis would not necessarily advance my understanding of the social work task, since my chosen focus is the *meaning* of social work rather than its effectiveness. My principal subjects in the research process will inevitably be those who define and control that meaning - the managers, committee members and social workers - rather than the service-users themselves.

2.2 The concept of task in social work

The question of what social work *is* and *should* be has been negotiated and struggled over, both within and outwith the profession, ever since there have been people called social workers. This contestation has reflected and contributed to the wider debates about society and about how social problems should be managed. The term

"social work task" has come to be defined as referring to the complex inter-relationship between *what* social workers do, *why* they do it, and what society thinks they *ought* to do.

I have already referred to the concept of "task" as it is used in organisational theory to refer to the specific and varied activities which an organisation carries out, and which assume different degrees of priority at given points in time. The concept of "task" as it is used in the social work literature first appeared in the late 1950s/early 1960s. At that time it referred to the developmental tasks which the ego must perform to achieve maturity. (cf Hollis, 1964¹⁵) Linked to this was the concept of "life tasks" - the critical, demanding situations faced by all people throughout their lives, such as bereavement or marriage. (cf Rapoport, 1958¹⁶) The term was later picked up and re-defined by those who were challenging the supremacy of long-term, psychodynamic-style social work intervention. The "task-centred approach", elaborated by Reid and Epstein (1972),¹⁷ was based on a belief that clients could be helped to solve problems through their own actions, or "tasks", which they would select, plan and carry out with the assistance of the social worker. A task was therefore an agreed-on and formulated course of problem-solving action.

By the 1970s, the word "task" began to be used more broadly, as a means of integrating diverse types of social work activity. (cf Bartlett, 1970¹⁸ and Siporin, 1975¹⁹) In an attempt to create a professional status for social work, academics and practitioners struggled to draw up a working definition of social work and to identify the essential elements of social work practice - the generic ideas, knowledge, values and practices which could be called social work. The social work task became not simply a matter of what social workers did, but what "underlies the doing".²⁰

It is this notion of task which has become its most common usage today. A BASW publication of 1977, The Social Work Task²¹ attempts to answer the question "What is social work?", and to relate this to the concepts of need, roles and institutional settings. The Barclay report of 1982, Social Workers - their Roles and Tasks²² picks up this theme. Here "task" is used to refer to the contract which society makes with social work agencies to carry out specific measures that are designed to tackle recognised needs/problems on its behalf. Underlying both the identification of the nature of the problem and the means to alleviate it are a host of theoretical and value assumptions which determine the way these are defined; and the nature of the contract itself varies over time, whether or not it is explicitly stated and written in statute.

The "task of social work" then is not just what social workers do - their strategies and interventions - it is also the way behaviour and actions are identified as problems in the first place. It is the depth of meaning which the term "task" conveys which makes it an attractive concept for me to use in this research - much more useful than alternatives which I have considered, such as "principal focus of concern", or "aims and objectives", or "principles and practice", each of which limit the subject in different ways. The idea of "task" encapsulates the skills, values and knowledge-base of social work ; social work's internal organisation and its relationship with wider society. I hope that all of these intricacies will be apparent in the research proper, and that a Foucauldian framework will facilitate this process.

2.3 Theoretical Framework - Michel Foucault

Although my research is not intended to be a straightforward application of Foucault's method, or an examination of Foucault's ideas, nevertheless his approach has been extremely useful in helping me to organise my thoughts and make sense of my findings. Foucault's conceptualisation of history and discourse, and specifically his methodology on historical archaeology have all played an important part in developing the framework for the research.

Foucault and History

In The Archaeology of Knowledge,²³ Foucault challenges us to rid ourselves of a whole mass of notions about how to think about our history - "tradition, influence, repetition, resemblance, development, evolution"²⁴ - notions which pull together historical events and ideas into a coherence and synthesis which he believes to be quite false. He rejects the traditional history of ideas which sees change in terms of continuity and transition ; in its place he foregrounds the idea of discontinuity. The historian's job is to seek out the concrete "events" when a change or reversal in long-term processes takes place - not necessarily the large-scale moments of conventional history-telling (the wars, treaties, or legislation) but rather the small-scale changes in everyday living which illustrate and signify these reversals. These events are, according to Foucault, reversals in discursive practices, brought about by the re-arrangement of the various layers of power-knowledge. Foucault points out that not all dimensions of society change at the same time, or in a uniform way. Therefore we should look to discover moments when, for example, new knowledge may precede or follow behind new political or economic practices. Likewise, he warns us that when we come across something new, there is no absolute origin or total revolution.

I believe that there have been fundamental shifts in the social work task which can be identified in Family Care's history. The first shift can be witnessed at the beginnings of the NVA when for the first time there was widespread consensus across political, class and gender boundaries in terms of an acceptance of the role of the law in regulating the sexual behaviour of individuals. The second discontinuity is marked by the demise of vigilance work in this agency, and moral welfare in social work in general. The discourse of social work became reconstituted in language which owed much more to medical and psychological concepts than religious ethics and ideology. Another transformation which has been unfolding over more recent years has been a move away from the "psy" mode to a more business style of operation and discourse. The language of social work illustrates this shift, as social work terminology becomes increasingly characterised by the language of business - efficiency, quality-control, performance-indicators, management, even the prominent use of the word "task" itself. At the same time, social work has been increasingly moving out of the hands of voluntary agencies and private individuals into the hands of the state. (cf Donzelot, 1980²⁵) I believe that social work in the 1990s, which may seem to be moving against this trend, is in fact another example of it. The local authority may buy in services and operate less "in house" provision than in the last ten years or so, but control

of the social work product, both in terms of financial and quality control, will be firmly in the hands of the local authority.

Foucault and Discourse

In Discipline and Punish,²⁶ Foucault argues that it is through discourses - the ensembles of beliefs, concepts and organising ideas which make up and organise our relation to reality - that power and knowledge come together. Knowledge is not singular or uncomplicated; instead particular forms of knowledge are constructed and created through power. Power itself is not a negative concept which exists only to forbid or repress ; it is omnipresent, diffused throughout society, both regulatory and productive. In other words, individuals are controlled *through* their forms of empowerment.²⁷

In my case-study of Family Care, I will be seeking to find the ways in which specific forms of knowledge about social work have been created and then legitimised and given authority. It will be important to consider what forms of knowledge are rejected as well as forms of knowledge which are supported and encouraged. The history of Family Care is in many ways a history of the professionalisation and bureaucratisation of social work.

Foucault and Methodology

Foucault (1972)²⁸ sets out in The Archaeology of Knowledge a method of historical analysis which, in his own words, aims to reveal the level of "things said" - the condition of their emergence, the forms of their accumulation and connection, the rules of their transformation, the discontinuities that articulate them. I cannot pretend to have studied the history of Family Care as Foucault might have done. But nevertheless I have attempted in my documentary and interview method and analysis to keep in mind six broad questions developed from the Archaeology of Knowledge. These are as follows :-

(i) when did new ideas and practices ("*discontinuities*") emerge? why should they have emerged at this time as opposed to any other time?

(ii) who is "*speaking*?" and what is said, and not said? that is, who has the authority/power to define the social work task? how has this changed?

(iii) where does the discourse come from? what are the "*institutional sites*" from which this discourse derives its legitimate source and point of application? (for example, the university, professional associations, government)

(iv) what positions can the "*subjects*" of the discourse adopt (that is, the social workers) and how does this relate to the changing positions of other groups (for example, the clergy, doctors, psychiatrists, clients)?

(v) how are the "*objects*" formed, and once formed, divided, classified and related to and from on another? that is, what are the problems/ client groups which social work sets itself to address, and how are these problems/ client groups differentiated from one another? again, have there been any significant shifts within this?

(vi) what are the "*concepts*", that is, the perceived solutions/strategies which are presented to resolve perceived social problems? why should these strategies have been adopted rather than any other ones?

The history of social work reflects a number of inter-weaving and at times contradictory themes. There has been the struggle over a great many years by a group of middle-class women (first, philanthropists and later, paid social workers) to achieve status and independence equal to their fathers and their husbands. The professionalisation period saw the creation of a new discourse in social work and an appropriation of a professional, psycho-dynamic language and expertise. But the professionalisation of social work must be seen in the context of an increasing involvement of regulatory bodies (and of the state) in the lives of citizens. This involvement is itself an intricate phenomenon which has not been experienced totally negatively. Increasing intervention in family life has brought with it the possibilities of greater protection of, and safeguards

for vulnerable groups in society, in this case, principally women and children, at the same time as affording the state potentially greater control over working-class behaviour.

Donzelot (1980)²⁹ develops the notion of the positive aspects of social control in his study, The Policing of Families. Donzelot praises Foucault's identification of "all the techniques that found their unifying pole in what was called policing : not in the limiting, repressive sense we give the term today, but according to a much broader meaning that encompassed all the methods for developing the quality of the population and the strength of the nation."³⁰

Donzelot argues that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a new hybrid sector emerged, neither public nor private, which he refers to as "the social".³¹ This sector has an independence from, but inter-connectedness with other sectors (judicial, educational, economic and political sectors). The social sector has its own institutions, and its own personnel. Initially, Donzelot asserts, mothers worked hand-in-hand with doctors, and later the "new army of professionals" grew up to service the social sector - the host of professionals who might be generically termed "social workers". The principal object of attention in "the social" has been the family, and Donzelot looks in depth

at the processes in which this "government through the family" has come about.³²

Donzelot examines the juvenile court as a specific example of this shift - as one illustration of the shift which has taken place in the setting, the code and the practices of juvenile justice. He identifies a move away from concentration on the offence and the offender to an assessment of the whole family, and a shift away from psychiatry and the tendency to remove the deviant from his family setting. He argues that this transformation leaves children open to "interminable investigation" and "perpetual judgment".³³ Psycho-analysis has provided the "ideal discourse" in this shift, offering as it does an alternative to older "police-like or charitable practice".³⁴ Interpretative knowledge based on psycho-analysis brings together the traditional investigatory and classificatory knowledge, and introduces a new dimension to them. Therefore what seems superficially to be a more liberal discourse, opens up the possibilities of far greater control over children and over families - "psy" discourse offers a far more widespread "policing of families".

I will pick up both general and specific ideas from Donzelot in this thesis. Family Care provides a clear illustration of an agency which initially focused on deviant behaviour (extra-marital sexuality) and

individual deviants (those considered to be at risk of sexual abuse). As the agency moved into the arena of casework, so more attention was given to the needs of children, and at the same time, to working with families. Families became the solution to the needs of all children, and when original families could not provide the necessary environment, new families were created through the procedures of adoption. There is no doubt that the development of psychology and psycho-analytic ideas and knowledge have been enormously influential in helping this agency (and social work in general) to make that shift.

But there are a number of points I will dispute with Donzelot. I am unconvinced that patriarchy has indeed ended in the way in which he suggests, and I am highly sceptical about what seems to me to come across as a lamenting of that shift. Patriarchal ideas are still very present in our lives, and built into many of the structures and systems which Donzelot identifies as familial. My second major disagreement is with the suggestion that familialism was the principal factor in the shift towards a focus on the whole family. I will argue that more persistent ideas which owe their allegiance to individualism and environmentalism have been just as important in creating social work's view of the family.

2.4 Locating the Theoretical Framework

The work of Michel Foucault and Jacques Donzelot does not stand alone as totally unique or unconnected with the broader field of philosophical and sociological thought. On the contrary, in choosing to adopt a Foucauldian framework for conceptualising my research, I am drawing on a much deeper tradition/set of ideas of which Foucault and Donzelot are both illustrations. I will identify three key components in this tradition which have had important resonance in my research.

First, there is a rejection of an evolutionary view of history (most especially, of teleological or Whig history.) This encompasses the idea that history is naturally unfolding towards a goal or end that has been implicitly there in its origin ; and that therefore each stage follows on naturally from a previous one. In the social work context, this would suggest that there has been a steady direction and flow ; that social work as we know it has somehow evolved out of a series of natural developments.

My research findings have exposed the problems inherent in this approach. I have found instances when history repeats itself, without participants necessarily being aware of this - "new" ideas emerge which have been forgotten in the agency's life. The development of social work is characterised by swings for and against

solutions to identified problems. A specific example is the attitude to long-term fostering. This agency, at the forefront of childcare practice in the 1960s, pushed for "permanent" solutions for children unable to remain with their parents. Adoption was "in", and long-term fostering discredited. Now the pendulum has swung firmly back in favour of more flexible arrangements for children. Adoption has not proved to be the answer for all children, or families, and long-term fostering is again a legitimate outcome.

There is another reason for rejecting an evolutionary view of history. Linear history often carries with it a value-assumption that things are getting better - that progress is taking place.³⁵ This would suggest that social work has developed in an environment of increasing knowledge and understanding, forever improving its skills and building on new knowable facts. And social work in the past, according to this interpretation, must be viewed as less scientific, less professional, less valid.

Again, my research has forced me to question such a perspective. What I have learnt is that for every new intervention, there are gains and losses - there is always a cost in whatever we do and do not do. For example, moves in Family Care in the 1970s to professionalise the committees may have been advantageous for the paid staff. Social workers were invited onto

committees who previously had no voice in the decision-making processes of the agency. But at the same time, lay committee membership was reduced, and ever since this time, the agency has struggled with finding a way to bring in new lay supporters to the agency.

The second component which I wish to forefront is the concept of historical sociology. Historical sociology challenges the assumption that history and sociology are different kinds of disciplines engaged in different lines of enquiry and using different methods. Abrams (1982) argues that history and sociology need one another - they both seek to understand "the puzzle of the human agency" - and that this can only be achieved by a historical dimension:-

"Historical sociology is the attempt to understand the relationship of personal activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time. It makes the continuous process of construction the focal concern of social analysis."³⁶

Abrams is very critical of sociology's traditionally ahistorical and historicist approach. Sociological thought, in his view, is embedded with conceptual polarities which are stuck within an evolutionary frame of social structures - organic and mechanical solidarity; folk and urban communities. And even when the polarity

is not stated, it may be implied - hence urbanism, secularisation, and bureaucratisation conjure up an opposite which may not be spelt out. Abrams urges us to challenge these characterisations - to get behind them historically to explain the phenomena of structural transformation.

The third fundamental theme which I wish to highlight is the critique of positivism in social science, that is the notion that there are provable facts and known social laws which operate in human society. Positivist thinking holds that the aim of social science research must be to strive for precise, objective, predictive and formulable knowledge. Bertaux (1981) and many others argue that the concept of social science is a myth - that people cannot be reduced to laws as in the natural world. But while social science is not possible, that does not mean social knowledge is an illusion:-

"The task of sociological thinking should not be to find "social laws"....., but to help along the tendency towards a *progressive elucidation of the historical movement of social relations.*"³⁷

2.5 Feminist Theory

The other major influence on my research ideas and practice stems from feminist theory, or rather, feminist theories. Feminist theory has not only picked up and elaborated existing sociological and psychological



concepts and added a woman's dimension to them. Feminist theory has also been highly critical of the assumptions of existing bodies of theory - their implicit acceptance of the sexual division of labour, of patriarchal structures, of women's invisibility, and of the separation between the personal and the political.

Feminist researchers have argued that the pre-coded, pre-closed categories which are routinely used in social science research have little relevance to the lives of women. Social science's pre-occupation with, for example, social class and paid employment, effectively ignores the complex reality of the experiences of women. Feminist researchers have therefore urged the use of an alternative strategy - one which values the wide variety of women's experiences, and which makes central to the research process the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Mies (1983)³⁸ argues for "conscious subjectivity" on the part of the researcher - not uncritical acceptance of everything which is said, but an admission of the inevitable involvement in the interaction of the research, as participants in the discussion and as women with a level of shared life-experience.

But there is another important dimension to feminist research. Feminist researchers deny the possibility of politically neutral research, and argue therefore that

feminist research should be *for* women, not *on* women, reflecting the basic feminist premise that the personal is political.³⁹ (I will say more about feminist research methodology in discussing interviewing in Chapter Three.)

Sawicki (1991)⁴⁰ argues for a Foucauldian feminist analysis, suggesting that "any self-critical and historically inflected feminism will find Foucauldian genealogy indispensable."⁴¹ She cites the many American feminist appropriations of Foucault as illustration of this point - studies on anorexia nervosa, the social construction of femininity, female sexual desire, sexual liberation, the politics of need, and the politics of difference. In the British context, I would add recent work on women and the law, on Magdelene asylums, on sexuality, on gender, and on child abuse, and my own research project.⁴²

2.6 Summary

This research project stands as my attempt to bring together Foucauldian ideas of history and discourse, with a feminist awareness of oppression and power, and my own background knowledge and experience of the theory and practice of social work.

I have used the concept of the changing "task" of social work as a tool towards this end - as a way of encapsulating the many different elements which at any

one moment come together to make up the discursive formation which is social work. This is not to suggest that there is any necessary unity or agreement about the social work task. On the contrary, Foucault (1972) warns us :-

"A discursive formation is not therefore an ideal, continuous smooth text that runs beneath the multiplicity of contradictions and resolves them in a calm unity of coherent thought ... It is rather a space of multiple dissensions, a set of different oppositions whose levels and roles must be described."⁴³

It is the very complexity of the social work task - the realisation that there has always been contestation over what social work *is* and *should* be - which has made this research project constantly exciting and full of surprises for me.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCESS

3.1 Introduction

Material for this thesis has come from the following sources :-

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

I critically studied a wide variety of internal agency material and external sources which could broaden my understanding of the context within which Family Care was operating.

Primary sources included :-

- (i) agency Annual Reports, committee minutes, short histories of Family Care written by a director and committee chairman, case-records ;
- (ii) documentary material from other relevant agencies - the National Vigilance Association and the Scottish Council for Single Parents.

Secondary sources included :-

- (i) histories of other voluntary organisations - including Dr. Barnardo's, Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Quarrier's Homes, Edinburgh Council of Social Service, Claremont Park Mother and Baby Home, Scottish Marriage Guidance, Church of Scotland, National Council for Single Parents ;
- (ii) histories of social work itself - histories of childcare, moral welfare work, social work education, the probation service, and voluntary and statutory social work ;

(iii) other relevant histories - of Magdelene homes, of prostitution, of police-women, of sexuality, of family violence, of the medical care of pregnant women, of penal strategies, of the family, of women and mental health, of feminism.

INTERVIEWS

I carried out 80 interviews in total and communicated by letter with a further 6 respondents. Of this total number, 61 were internal respondents - Directors, committee members, social workers and administrators who have worked at Family Care. Two interviews were carried out with relatives of key agency figures, now dead; and I interviewed a foster parent who approached me early in the research. I also interviewed 16 external respondents who knew the agency well and who had themselves played a part in the development of social work in Scotland.

(See Figure 3 Respondents, Internal and External : 1990-1992)

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Although this research project has not been set up as an exercise in participant observation in the strict sense (see Chapter One on the case-study approach), I have nevertheless had an unusually high degree of involvement in the agency throughout the research process. As I have already stated, I worked for the agency for seven years before starting the research, and indeed spent the first year of the research while still an employee of the agency. Since then, I have continued to have regular

contact with the agency, by going in to look at agency records, by informal conversation with staff members, and by attending annual general meetings. (I gave the A.G.M. address in 1992 on the subject of my research.)

This continued involvement with the agency has allowed me to keep up-to-date with current agency concerns and issues. It has also enabled me to check out informally some of the ideas coming up in the research, and to feed back provisional findings to agency staff. My research has therefore, in a limited way, taken on the character of an action research project, since I have been able to contribute to the debates currently taking place in the agency about what its future directions should be.

3.2 Documentary Research

Documentary evidence has served different purposes at different stages of the research process.

(i) Primary Sources

Internal agency records were very useful in the early stages of the research process in helping me to build up a background picture of the agency's objectives and work practices. Reading all the annual reports gave me access to some of the broad shifts which have taken place in the agency. (See Figure 1) Committee minute books filled some of the gaps and gave more specific information, particularly important for the very early period of the agency, before 1929, from which there was no-one still

alive whom I could interview. I also dipped into agency case-records at this time, which told the more personal stories, and gave me clues about how social workers saw their clients and their jobs.

When the interviews began, agency records were useful in allowing me to cross-check what respondents were telling me. I was able to verify dates, chronology and factual information, vitally important when interviewing respondents about events which had taken place in the past. Documents offered far more, however, than simple verification. They offered real evidence and first-hand examples of events in process, untinted by post-hoc rationalisation or explanation. The records therefore became an ongoing research tool - a source which I was able to exploit to its full advantage throughout the research process.

Once I had identified the six main discourses I wished to pursue in the research (that is, vigilance and social purity ; Christian ethics and values ; professionalism ; the "psy" discourse ; feminism and familialism; welfare ideologies), my selection of documents related totally to these subjects. I randomly sampled case-records throughout the eighty year history of the agency, looking for changes in the way in which social workers defined their clients and their clients' problems, and organised strategies to solve these problems. I sought specific

evidence of new practices, for example records of intelligence testing and abortion counselling. And I read committee minutes which related to times of change within the agency, or times when the agency had a difficult decision to make, for example minutes of the Development Group in the mid 1970s.

Agency records of two key external agencies, the National Vigilance Association (NVA) in London and the Scottish Council for Single Parents (formerly the Scottish Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child, SCUM) were helpful in filling in gaps and in placing Family Care's history in a wider context. The NVA archives were able to tell me what had happened to the NVA nationally. I learnt that although Family Care's predecessors had given up the vigilance cause, the NVA had continued to function nationally and internationally up until the 1970s. This was important in identifying a discontinuity within Family Care's experience. The SCUM records verified the accounts of inter-agency co-operation detailed in the Family Care records. They also added to my understanding of the field of moral welfare in the 1940s and 1950s. My tentative hypothesis that the needs of children came to take centre-stage at this time was strengthened by the discovery that SCUM began in 1942 with the expressed objective of improving the life-expectancy of illegitimate children.

(ii) Analysis in Documentary Research

A number of issues have been raised in connection with the analysis of documentary research.

Gottschalk et al (1945)⁴⁴ address the problem of interpretation and analysis of documents, asserting that no statement is ever interpreted exactly as it was intended by the speaker or author. They suggest four general rules for judging the reliability and validity of a document :-

1. the closer a subject is to the event s/he reports, the greater the validity and reliability;
2. because documents differ in purpose, the more serious the author's intention to make a mere record, the more dependable the source;
3. because the tendency to embellish and dramatise a document increases the more people it is intended for, the greater the confidential nature of the report, the greater its validity;
4. because the testimony of schooled or experienced observers is generally superior to that of the untrained or casual reporter, researchers must give greater credence to reports prepared by more expert observer, ie by those closest to the event under study, or trained at observation.⁴⁵

Validity and authenticity were not problems for me in my research. All the agency records, from annual reports to committee minutes and case-records were what they

appeared to be. There was no question of fakes or even of an incomplete record - Family Care has held onto all its archives, with the exception of six Annual Reports which have been lost at some time. With such a wealth of material available, the much more difficult question for me was when to stop in the collection of data. Even in the last stages of writing up this thesis, I have been tempted to go back to make sure I had not missed some important feature along the way.

Gottchalk et al offer advice on another problem which has much in common with research based on interviews, that is, how do we know the document (or informant) is telling the truth? They ask four critical questions of historians :-

1. was the primary witness able to tell the truth?
2. was the primary witness willing to tell the truth?
3. is the primary witness accurately reported with regard to the detail under examination?
4. is there any external corroboration of the detail under examination?⁴⁶

Platt (1981)⁴⁷ picks up this point. She suggests that a document will always speak to its audience, and the audience will differ according to the purpose of the document. Therefore minutes of meetings record only the decisions and rarely the process of decision-making ; annual reports reflect the agency's public presence, and

are in many ways propoganda tools aimed at raising the status and the funds of the agency ; case-records justify social workers' courses of action and present a picture of clarity of thought and planning which may be far from the truth. That is, documents, like interviews, can only give a very partial version of events. But they can also give unexpected information, because what is not recorded is just as interesting as what is recorded. (Just as what is not said can be as illuminating as what is said.)

Foucault takes a rather different approach to documentary research in The Archaeology of Knowledge. Here he acknowledges that documents never contain the full truth of history, but he tries to avoid what he sees as the trap of using documents as mere windows through which deeper meanings are to be interpreted. He argues that the document is a positive, material entity in itself, conditioned by the same regulative mechanisms that determine social practices as such. He writes :-

"Archaeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses ; but these discourses themselves, those discourses as practices obeying certain rules. It does not treat discourse as *document*, as a sign of something else, as an element that ought to be transparent, but whose unfortunate opacity must often be pierced if one is to reach at last the depth of the essential in the place in which

it is held in reserve ; it is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a *monument*."48

My own approach to documentary analysis has leaned more towards a Foucauldian framework, while not negating the usefulness of Gottchalk and Platt in examining specific documents. I have not been concerned on the whole with the "truth" or "falsity" of documents, and instead I have chosen to accept them for what they are - that is, real, concrete examples of the issues and practices (the discourses) which have been operating and competing with one another at a specific moment in the agency's history. All the agency records from this perspective have been enlightening and constantly fascinating, illuminating the procedures and interventions carried out by the agency and its workers.

Documents have also provided a useful cross-check with information given to me by respondents.⁴⁹ Where a respondent may have forgotten or may wish to conceal a piece of information, the records speak for themselves, and give a far deeper insight into the task of social work than would have been possible from interviews alone.

(iii) **Secondary Sources**

Secondary sources have been useful in helping me to place Family Care's development in a wider context - in the world of voluntary organisations and in the world of

social work. However, secondary sources did not always live up to my expectations of them, and I have had to read very widely in order to feel adequately informed of my subject and its context.

I was very disappointed in the quality of presentation and analysis of much of the histories of voluntary organisations which I read. These histories tended to be impressionistic and descriptive, relying on narrative accounts and uncritical swatches of biographical material about the key figures involved in the organisations. Gill Mordaunt's assessment (1992) of studies of voluntary agencies accords with my view. She writes :-

"Although offering a rich insight into the variety and complexity of voluntary organisation activity, these accounts rested on many untested and unexplored assumptions made about the nature of relationships, the role of voluntary organisations, the nature of social welfare interventions, and the ways in which both central and local government worked."⁵⁰

There were a number of notable exceptions. The work of Brenton (1985), Finlayson (1990) and Prochaska (1980 and 1988) were excellent in their breadth of coverage and in the issues for the voluntary sector which they were prepared to address.⁵¹ I will refer to them later in the substantive chapters of the thesis.

While histories of voluntary organisations have been limited in their usefulness, general histories of social work have also been less than satisfying. As I indicated in Chapter Two : **Conceptual Approaches**, very many histories of social work have adopted an evolutionary, linear approach, in which there is a notion of steady progress towards an ever-improving social work product. There is no indication of the conflict which will inevitably have accompanied changes along the way, and no analysis of the competing interests of different groups involved in the process. More than this, many histories have been told from the perspective of statutory, English social work settings, with little attention to either the voluntary sector or the Scottish social work scene and legislation. Where the voluntary sector is mentioned, it is most typically in terms of a reference to the Charity Organisation Society, at which point voluntary agency activity seems to disappear from the public view for the next sixty years or so. The differing Scottish social work pattern is sometimes ignored completely ; at other times, it merits a disclaiming paragraph.

Rather than name the guilty parties, I would rather draw attention to the writers whom I have found useful in my research. Cooper (1983), English (1988), Thane (1982), and Walton (1975) have all contributed to my general understanding of the development of social work in Scotland.⁵²

Some of the most informative histories which I have read have been those which were only tangentially related to my research-topic, but which adopted a strong theoretical position. Histories which drew on Foucauldian concepts were extremely helpful in enabling me to clarify my own theoretical framework. Here I include the work of Garland (1985), Mahood (1990), Mort (1987), Oakley (1984) Rose (1985) and Weeks (1981).⁵³

I also found the blossoming literature of oral histories and accounts of women's lives useful in identifying some broad subject-areas which I might explore with respondents. These have included the impact of the Second World War ; women's changing employment pattern ; domestic service ; women and caring ; women's attitudes towards sexual behaviour ; feminism. Much of this background material has been influential in my work for Chapter 8 : **Women and the Social Work Task**. But there is a more general level at which it has also helped to inform the whole thesis, by helping to build my historical knowledge and awareness of the experiences of women. I have enjoyed here the work of Crompton and Sanderson (1990), Finch (1989), Lewis (1986, 1988 and 1992), Ungerson (1987), and many others.⁵⁴

3.3 Interviews

As I have explained more fully in Chapter Two, my research method has been built on a number of assumptions about social science research. That is, my preference is for research which is anti-positivist, interpretative, feminist, and person-centred, and yet strongly grounded in a theoretical understanding of social relations and social change. My value-position is nowhere more apparent than in my interview method and analysis.

(i) Interview Process

Much of what has been written in conventional social science text-books on interviewing bears little resemblance to my interview process. My interviews were not structured surveys using standard questions, but neither were they open-ended, unstructured conversations as in an oral history technique. Very simply, they were semi-structured - I had some specific questions I wished to put to each respondent, but the main part of the interview was intended to be open enough to allow for the respondent to tell her/his own story - whatever was most significant for each of them about the time of their association with Family Care.

In order to facilitate this process, I prepared well in advance of the interview. I sent respondents a short but informative resume of my areas of interest prior to the interview, to give them time to reflect and prepare for the interview. This was a highly successful approach. It served to reduce anxiety about the interview, and

allowed respondents time to think about the past, to discuss it with family and friends, and even in some cases, to retrieve old documents and papers which they felt that I might be interested in. I also gave priority to my own preparation for each interview, anticipating subjects which we might discuss, and having a tool-kit of prompts and suggestions (including dates, issues, material from other interviews) that I might draw on which would enable the respondent to get in touch with their memories and their feelings.

The interview took the shape of an informed discussion. I contributed to the discussion, and fed in, where appropriate, ideas and issues raised by other respondents. This was not, however, a normal conversation following the rules of conventional social intercourse. My role was clearly that of an informed listener and questioner. Because I did not wish to influence the respondent's contribution, I refused to answer the "what do you think?" questions, and instead turned this back onto respondents. Over and above the specific material related to the respondents' experience of Family Care, I also sought respondents' views on the wider research issues, and I invited them to comment on, and interpret their experience.

Most interviews were tape-recorded, after seeking permission from the respondents. This made it easier for

me to actively listen in the interviews, and once the respondents had relaxed and forgotten about the tape-recorder, it also served to reduce the distance between me as researcher and the respondent as interviewee.

The interview process - the presentation, structure and style which I chose to adopt - reflects both my own past experience and chosen theoretical orientation, and the actual result of carrying out a pilot interview. I will start by describing the pilot interview.

(ii) Piloting the Research Interview

I carried out only one pilot interview, choosing to interview a senior social worker who had worked with the agency for many years, who would be able to give me factual information as well as share her opinions and feelings as in a more typical interview set-up.⁵⁵

Although I had known her for many years, and she had been my senior at one point, I did not see this as an obstacle to the research process because we no longer worked together and because we shared a high degree of mutual respect which would allow us to play our parts as interviewer and respondent to the full.

The interview was extremely useful in that it forced me to totally re-think my interview strategy from then on. I had prepared in advance a detailed list of questions covering every aspect of Family Care's work and

organisation over the years which the respondent had been involved with the agency. The respondent answered my questions thoughtfully and carefully, and the interview lasted almost three hours. I was left at the end of the interview with a strong sense of dissatisfaction - that we had skimmed the surface of everything, but somehow I had learned nothing. I had missed the opportunity to allow the respondent to properly contribute to the interview - to talk to me about what mattered most to her - to "teach" me about herself and her work.⁵⁶ I subsequently went back to the respondent and interviewed her again, this time on the subject closest to her heart - her work with Edzell Lodge Children's Home.

This was a crucial point to learn - that everyone has something which they wish to talk about, and that if you as interviewer do not give adequate attention to this, the interview will be a failure - a failure as a piece of social interaction (all interviews are clearly social interaction), and a failure as a research interview, since the chance to explore something in depth had been missed.

I realised on reflection that in preparing for the pilot interview, I had been so concerned to adopt the persona of an expert "researcher", that I had overlooked some key elements which I already knew from my experience as a

social worker and as a human being, and from my reading on research methodology.

(iii) **Research Methodology**

My research methodology has been informed by three separate but inter-related strands - the oral/life history method, feminist research, and social work principles and practice.

The oral history/life history method stresses the importance of enabling respondents to actively engage in the research process and to tell their own stories.

Thomson (1981) explains this further :-

"The life history method at least makes us confront the violence that can be done to other people's consciousness by imposing our terms on it.... More directly, however, the oral history material may simply show that our own perceptions are false."⁵⁷

Bertaux (1981) agrees with this point, and asserts that respondents, given the chance to talk freely, may know a lot about what is going on, and know a lot more than sociologists do. He therefore defines a good interview as one in which the respondent takes over the interview situation and talks freely.⁵⁸

Although I have not solely used an oral or life history method - focusing on the life-stories and biographies of individuals - some of the key ideas within the oral or

life history tradition have been critical in my interviewing of social workers and committee members, the main subjects of my research. I have always asked respondents to tell me about themselves - about their "life-careers" to date - and I have placed great importance on finding out the interpretations that they themselves have placed on their own experiences.

Of course inevitably there have been occasions when the subject most of interest to a respondent was less interesting to me - perhaps it had been covered already by another respondent. But the general principle seemed to me to be a valid one, and worth holding onto in all interviews.

Feminist research picks up this approach and adds a feminist dimension to it.⁵⁹ Oakley (1981)⁶⁰ argues against objectivity and detachment in interviewing, because what is good for interviewers may not be good for interviewees. She proposes a feminist mode of interviewing that requires personal responsiveness and involvement on the part of the interviewer. She suggests that personal involvement is more than dangerous bias - "it is the condition under which people come to know each other and admit others into their lives."

From this perspective, what may have been regarded as a source of potential danger in my research - the fact that

I am an "insider" carrying out the research - has become a positive asset. As a social worker, as a women and as a mother, I have been able to make personal connections with what respondents were telling me. I have been able to get *behind* what respondents are saying - to pick up cues and ask supplementary questions, and really listen to what is being said.

The third underlying thread which has inevitably had an impact on the research method and process has been my experience over the last sixteen years in counselling and interviewing clients. Social work principles impress on us the value of creating a warm and safe environment in counselling; of listening empathetically to what is said; of being prepared to "start where the client is"; of seeking clarification and giving feedback. My model therefore owes much to Rogerian ideas about person-centred counselling.⁶¹ This is not to suggest that I have counselled respondents - clearly, I have not. But that the general approach has been very useful in the context of conducting exploratory interviews which aim to get in touch with respondents' feelings as well as factual information.

Two final approaches which do not fit neatly into my categorisation of three important methodological perspectives deserve a mention. A completely different, but equally useful approach was provided by Dexter

(1970)⁶² and his notion of "elite" or "specialised" interviewing. Dexter distinguishes between standardised interviewing, in which the investigator defines the question and the problem, and elite interviewing, in which the investigator is willing, and often eager to let the interviewee teach her/him what the problem, the question and the situation is. He sees this as an approach particularly well-suited to interviewing the influential, the prominent and the well-informed. But he admits that everyone is an expert on something, and our task as interviewers is to find out what that something is, and exploit it.

Platt (1981)⁶³ helped to solve another part of the interview jigsaw puzzle. In her study of interviewing one's peers, she draws attention to the inherent difficulties and yet potential for better interviewing arising out of these interviews. The interviewer is not anonymous but has a history and perceived characteristics ; interviewees talk to one another ; there is a greater equality of status in the interview. All these realities demand an openness and an honesty on the part of the interviewer. They may at the same time make the asking of some questions difficult, and bring to the fore issues about confidentiality. Platt suggests that it is good for interviewers to face up to these matters in *all* interviews, not simply when interviewing peers.

I would like to make one final point on interview method. To a large degree, in interviewing respondents about their social work (paid and unpaid), I was interviewing them about their lives. This is not solely because I was drawing on life-history methods. It is because in social work, what we are using is the sum total of our life-experiences, feelings, values and knowledge to date, not simply a collection of theories and skills taught on social work courses.⁶⁴

My eventual interviews bear traces of all these ideas. But decisions still had to be made about who I would interview and why.

(iv) The Respondents - who were they?

By the time the research was complete, I had contacted 96 people. Of this total number, 6 living outside Scotland did not respond to my letters, 3 living in the Edinburgh area did not reply, and 1 person declined to be interviewed. That left 80 people who agreed to be interviewed, and 6 with whom I corresponded by letter.

Internal Respondents

My methods of selection varied according to the position which the respondent held within the agency, and the availability of other possible interviewees who could tell me about an event or time in the agency's history. I interviewed all the Directors who had been in the

agency from 1929 onwards; all ex-Executive Committee Chairmen⁶⁵ who were still alive - they covered the period from 1945 onwards; and all Secretary/Treasurers from 1942. I interviewed 29 social workers in total, covering the period from 1946, and managed to get within this a reasonable selection of caseworkers, residential workers, groupworkers, practice teachers and volunteers' organisers who could talk about different aspects of the work, from support for unmarried mothers, to work with children, and work with adoptive parents. I interviewed 19 committee members who had worked with the agency from 1946, and again sought a mixture of people who had served on different sub-committees within the agency. I met two relatives of key figures who had died some time ago. And I interviewed one fosterparent who approached me in response to an invitation from me in a Family Care newsletter early on in the research.

My main criteria for selection of respondents was based on geography and availability, that is, I contacted everyone still living within a sixty mile radius of Edinburgh for whom I could find addresses. This proved to be a successful system, because it threw up by chance a reasonable cross-section of respondents based on differing length of service (from one to twenty-two years); differing marital status (married and single); differing terms of employment (full-time and part-time);

differing caring responsibilities (caring for children, for elderly relatives, or living alone.)

It might be argued that there is a bias in my research towards the "stay-at-homers", who might be suggested to be more conservative in approach. This is hard to be certain about, but I believe it has not been borne out in my results. People whom I have interviewed have represented a wide variety of life-styles and political affiliation, from radical to conservative. In addition, some respondents had moved away from Scotland and returned here to live or to work. How would we categorise them in terms of conservativeness if we used residence as an indicator?

Because my interview sample was potentially huge, I had to work out some limitations on the research. My first decision was not to interview any present staff members or committee members, except the Director and Secretary/Treasurer. I justified this on the basis that this was a historical study, and therefore current committee members and staff were less useful to me. I also found this a helpful decision in terms of enabling me to create a sense of distance between myself as researcher and the agency, especially since I had been a staff-member immediately prior to beginning the research proper.

My decision to stop interviewing was determined not by any pre-planning on my part, but by a recognition that I had reached saturation point. There was, in a sense, nothing more which I could usefully learn by interviewing more social workers and more committee members who would probably repeat much of what I had already heard. Of course, everyone new does bring their own interpretations and views. But I felt that I had already heard a range of views and needed to call a halt on the interview process.

External Respondents

I interviewed 16 people from different agencies who had knowledge of Family Care, or who could fill in the broader picture of the development of social work and voluntary agencies in Scotland. I also corresponded by letter with a further six.

These interviews served a number of functions. Sometimes they were straightforward information-giving sessions - respondents gave me factual and impressionistic information on specific subjects, such as the development of social work training in Edinburgh. At other times, the focus was on Family Care, and the co-operation between Family Care and the other agencies in its network. I was then able to piece together the changing picture not just of Family Care in relationship with

another agency, but of Family Care's position in the wider social work world.

(v) Service-User Interviews

A much more difficult decision which I had to make in the course of the research was the decision not to interview service-users (clients). At the beginning of the project, I anticipated interviewing service-providers, managers and users, in order to gain a full picture of the social work practice from the viewpoints of each group involved. I believed that client interviews would provide a useful cross-check in terms of the services the social workers said they were delivering. I hoped that the service-users might also give me some broader insights into this agency, other agencies, and social attitudes to subjects such as illegitimacy, abortion, single parenthood etc.

During the course of interviewing staff and committee members, and as the focus of the research project changed, I had to reluctantly face up to the fact that while this material has validity in its own right, it does not have a necessary place within this research project. Because my focus became the changing task of social work, I was not actually in the business of saying whether one kind of social work activity was more or less effective than another. Neither was I primarily concerned with changing social attitudes.

But there is an added dimension here. One of the characterising features of social work is that it has *not* been set up as a self-help/ mutual aid institution in which intervention is geared towards client demand. Routinely, need has been identified and solutions proposed by people other than clients - principally middle-class "experts" and "knowledgable" lay people. The radical critique of the 1970s and new consumerist ideas of the 1980s may have made some inroads into re-dressing this balance. However, in the context of Family Care, in common with most professional social work agencies, the task of social work is still very much in the hands of the service-providers, not the service-users, and this has remained a constant feature throughout its eighty year history. This means that it is to the service-providers and managers I must turn to find the *subjects* in the social work discourse, and in my research project.

Accepting that the task of social work has been and is under the control of the service-providers, there are ways of uncovering the implications of this without recourse to numerous client interviews. From interviews with social workers, managers and those who have worked closely with the agency, as well as from case-records, it is possible to learn about the clients themselves (who are the clients? where do they come from? what problems

do they bring?); about the relationship between social workers and clients (what do they call each other? what information do they share with each other? how does the social worker record their interaction?); and about the nature and outcome of the intervention (are there times when one outcome seems to be favoured over another? does this change over time? how far is this unique to Family Care or part of a wider pattern?)

There is an argument which claims that social work research which does not include the client viewpoint is intrinsically flawed and somehow invalid.⁶⁶ I reject this, and repeat that the subjects of my research project are the social workers and committee members, not the clients, therefore it is the viewpoint of these groups which will predominate.

Note - I interviewed one fosterparent (at her request) who gave me a very useful insight into her experience of being a receiver of social work services and a provider of care. I have no doubt that a fascinating future research project might be centred on eliciting more experiences like this one.

(vi) Analysis of Interviews

Kerlinger (1973) defines analysis as :-

"the categorisation, manipulating and summarising of data to obtain answers to research questions ...

Interpretation takes the results of analysis, makes inferences pertinent to the research relations studied, and draws conclusions about these relations."⁶⁷

There are two major factors which distinguish my research analysis from this description. The first is the implicit assumption about timing ; the second relates to the conceptualisation of analysis and interpretation as being the sole prerogative of the researcher.

In conventional social science research, data analysis is something which takes place *after* the data has been collected. In my project, data analysis took place before, during and after the main bulk of data collection. Documentary analysis prior to interviewing meant that I had identified in advance the six broad discourses which were to be the subject of my thesis and which would organise my analysis forthwith. Openness on my part to discussion with respondents meant that these categories were shared with, and commented on by respondents in the course of interviewing. The respondents therefore played an active part in forming my analysis. In addition, I kept a notebook of ideas, impressions, and preliminary conclusions as the research progressed, allowing me to keep a hold of insights and also track the development of ideas in the course of the research. After the interviews, I transcribed the

material, and tried to arrange it not only in the context of my own categorisation system, but also in the context of everything I had heard and read to date. My job was in effect to bring about a synthesis of all this material, to bring about an understanding of what Bertaux (1981)⁶⁸ refers to as "the historical movement of the whole." He explains this more fully :-

"It is our task as intellectuals to put together those bits of knowledge that may be found everywhere ... and to draw a picture of the whole and of its movements."⁶⁹

This dynamic approach to research analysis, where there is a constant interplay between data gathering and analysis, has become common practice in much qualitative research, including ethnography. What is less common, however, is the genuine attempt to involve the respondent in the analysis - to admit the reality that we as social science researchers may not be the only experts in the situation. This is where feminist research and oral history research have been most challenging.

But a feminist perspective has contributed another dimension to the interview process. By being open to the feelings and subjectivities of others, I found myself confronting my own feelings and subjectivity. In questioning respondents about their belief-systems and value-bases (for example, through asking the simple

question "why did you become a social worker?"), I found myself questioning my own beliefs and values. I realised that I was, in effect, my principle respondent. Stanley and Wise (1983)⁷⁰ have indicated that the research process can be a consciousness-raising experience, raising the levels of awareness of both the researcher and the researched. I can vouch for the fact that this can be a painful experience, quite unsettling and very far removed from traditional expectations of dispassionate, uninvolved, neutral research.

3.4 Quantitative analysis

Although the main thrust in this research has been towards qualitative research, statistics and graphs have been used to evidence specific statements being made and to place the Family Care material in its wider context. This has made it possible to detect broader trends - for example, in illegitimacy figures, or in women's paid employment - and has brought an objectivity to the study which would not otherwise have been possible.

3.5 Summary

My principal research method has been, in conclusion, to pull together a synthesis of documentary and interview research material, from internal and external sources, building on what I already knew as a social work practitioner and teacher, and basing my analysis on an open interaction between my own perspectives and those of

my respondents. This has not, therefore, been a study in which concepts have simply "emerged" out of the data, in the manner of grounded theory.⁷¹ Neither has it been a project in which I have assumed full control of the subject and its analysis, as is typical of most conventional positivist research. Instead, I have drawn most heavily on insights from feminist and life/oral history research traditions, and hope in the end to have reached an approach which is both "theoretically alive, and substantially grounded in social reality."⁷²

Figure 3 Respondents, Internal and External, 1990-1992

Internal interviews

- 5 Directors (all the Directors from 1929 onwards)
- 27 Social Workers (a sample from 1946 onwards)
- 4 Admin/Finance Officers (all from 1942 onwards)
- 6 Executive Committee Chairmen (all from 1945 onwards)
- 19 Committee Members (a sample from 1946 onwards)
- 2 Relatives of key Executive Committee Members
- 1 Foster Parent

64 in total

External interviews

- 3 Local Authority Representatives - Children's Dept. and Lothian Region Social Work Dept.
- 4 Edinburgh University Representatives
- 1 Scottish Council for Single Parents
- 1 Scottish Adoption Association
- 2 Simpson's Maternity Hospital
- 1 Brook Advisory Centre
- 1 Edinburgh Council of Social Service (now Edinburgh Voluntary Organisations' Council)
- 2 Scottish Episcopal Church
- 1 New College

16 in total

Correspondents

- 2 Children's Officers
- 1 Social Work Dept. Employee
- 1 former Edinburgh University Staff Member
- 2 Family Care Social Workers

6 in total

Refusals

- 6 social workers now living in England did not respond to my letter
- 3 living in or near Edinburgh chose not to respond
- 1 social worker declined to be interviewed

10 in total

Total sample 86 respondents

CHAPTER FOUR

VIGILANCE AND THE SOCIAL PURITY MOVEMENT

4.1 Introduction

The voluntary organisation known today as Family Care began in 1911 as a local branch of a national vigilance organisation formed in 1885 which had branches throughout Britain and contacts throughout the rest of the world. The National Vigilance Association (NVA) of Scotland (Eastern Division) was not, and did not define itself as a social work agency at this time. Its purpose, in common with other vigilance branches and associations, was to protect women and girls "against outrage, abduction and prostitution, and the terrible wickedness and cruelty of the White Slave Trade."⁷³ This protection was to be achieved through legislation, anti-pornography campaigns, sex education, action against brothels, and a strong physical presence by patrolling of streets, docks and railway stations, and by attendance at police and sheriff courts.

Three immediate questions come to mind. First, how was it that an organisation like the NVA came into existence with such popular appeal at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries? Second, how did this organisation come to be transformed into a social work agency, and what continuities and changes are apparent? Third, what has happened to the vigilance discourse today? What role is there for contemporary

social workers as guardians of private and public morality?

I will argue that the establishment of the NVA in Edinburgh arose in the latter stages of a bitterly contested, national campaign which was designed to change the sexual behaviour of men, women and children at home and abroad. During this campaign, philanthropists, feminists and clergymen fought first against and then hand-in-hand with medics, politicians and sanitarians over the definitions and solutions of the "great social evil"⁷⁴ which was prostitution. Prostitutes, brothels, homosexuals and "vulnerable" working-class women may have been the principal targets of this discourse, but the discourse was addressed to the sexual behaviour of all people, from all classes, in public and in private.

Events leading up to the establishment of the NVA nationally in 1885 (and locally in Edinburgh in 1911) provide a fascinating picture of the complexities inherent in any movement for social change. Although the vigilance movement seemed for a time to speak with one voice, disagreement and contradictions which had been present throughout the nineteenth century prostitution debates never disappeared, and eventually led to the break-up of the vigilance movement. I will suggest that the unity in the vigilance cause in 1885 was only very transitory, and was achieved largely thanks to the

trigger of a very unsavoury scandal which was created in the pages of a popular newspaper, the Pall Mall Gazette.

The passing of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act and the formation of the NVA in 1885 symbolise a reversal in social relations (Foucault, 1972)⁷⁵ - a moment when a new understanding of the relationship between the individual and the state was reached. Groups who had been fighting for and against the state control of prostitution came to accept at this point in time that individual conscience and voluntary effort were no longer sufficient means to control the sexual behaviour and morality of its citizens. This period therefore marks a new acceptance of a *rightful* place for the state in intervening in the lives of its citizens, though inevitably, controversy remained about how far, and what form, this statutory involvement should take.

Sexual behavior was not the only arena which merited public attention at this time. The contestation around anxieties about the urban poor is evident in the flood of governmental inquiries and legislation being negotiated by parliament in the 1880s.⁷⁶ Gradually, central and local government began to take on a number of new social duties arising out of these concerns - poor relief registration, education, public health and sanitation. In each case, legislation was accompanied by a long struggle about how best social problems should be tackled

and by whom. What we can see here is the beginnings of the recognition of a legitimacy for state intervention in many aspects of the lives of citizens, and a questioning of the ability of voluntary and philanthropic enterprise to cope with all social problems. (See Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

The history of Family Care covers not only the early days of the vigilance discourse, it also records its demise - its total eclipse in the face of the new medical/ legal/ "psy" discourses which forced vigilance and social purity discourses out to the sidelines. I will argue that the moral discourses have not disappeared completely. Instead, they have been incorporated into professional social work discourse, explained and justified by the new "psy" language which gained prominence. And periodic explosions of media interest in sexual behaviour (currently centred on child sexual abuse, and HIV/AIDS) continue to play a very influential role in affirming and maintaining the parameters for our professional and common-sense views on the causes and solutions to the problems they describe.

4.2 The Formation of the NVA

The NVA was launched at a public meeting in St. James' Hall, London on 21st August 1885. The next day, a massive demonstration of reportedly 250,000 people⁷⁷ congregated in Hyde Park to show allegiance to this new umbrella organisation which promised not only to see that the newly-passed Criminal Law (Amendment) Act was enforced, but also that further legislation "to repress criminal vice and public immorality"⁷⁸ would follow if deemed necessary.

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act which the NVA was to play such a critical role in enforcing was subtitled "an Act to make further Provision for the Protection of Women and Girls, the Suppression of Brothels and other Purposes." The Act raised the age of sexual consent for girls from 13 to 16 years⁷⁹; and the age of abduction for immoral purposes from 16 to 21 years. Summary procedures were introduced against brothel keepers and landlords who rented rooms to prostitutes. Controversial clauses which would have enabled arrests for importuning or loitering were dropped. A very punitive amendment was introduced and accepted at the last-minute, outlawing on pain of two years' hard labour acts of gross indecency between males (that is, homosexual acts) in private as well as public.⁸⁰ Overall it has been described as "a particularly nasty and pernicious piece of omnibus legislation." (Walkowitz, 1982)⁸¹

The NVA was formed soon afterwards with the expressed purpose of being the main agency which would undertake private prosecutions and alert the police to infringements of the new law. This was not simply about extending the effectiveness of the law. It also represented the liberal position, which held that control of immorality should be in the hands of private individuals, not the state (that is, the police on behalf of the state.) Liberals, philanthropists and feminists had fought from the 1860s onwards against a control of prostitution which was in the hands of the police and the state alone. James Stuart, a vigilance movement sympathiser and Member of Parliament, illustrates this ideological position. He attacked the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill as it was introduced in May 1883 :-

"There is too much of the police in it - I mean of absolute police action as apart from and not initiated by citizen action. We want to repress prostitution and I am convinced that cannot be done by the police, but by the action of citizens calling in the aid of the police. The moment you leave the function of repression in the hands of the police, from that moment you fail in the end you aim at, and there arises a modified system of surveillance, regulation and toleration."⁸²

Legislation passed a few years later in 1889 regarding the physical abuse of children by their parents followed the same pattern of private prosecution. A new voluntary organisation - the National Society for the Prevention of Children (NSPCC) - was set up to be the principal agency for investigating and prosecuting parents in cases of child abuse by parents.⁸³

The establishment of the NVA (and the NSPCC) provides a very clear example of the conceptualisation of the role of philanthropy proposed by Donzelot (1980).⁸⁴ He identifies the emergence in the nineteenth century of a new set of discourses whose common thread was a concern for the family, and a new site of activity and a new conceptual space which he calls "the social".

Philanthropy (and later social work) developed not as an apolitical, private intervention into social problems, but a "deliberately depoliticising strategy for establishing public services at sensitive points midway between private initiative and the state."⁸⁵

The NVA represents a positive solution and a deliberate compromise between the need to actively protect women and children and the need to control the expansion of state power and state intervention in the family. But most critically, what was conceded at this time was that the state should have a role in terms of defining the limits of permissible behaviour. There was also a widespread

realisation that voluntary initiative on its own was no longer enough. This is the major point of reversal of the discourse on sexual morality.

What we will see increasingly over the period of Family Care's history is a steady incorporation of all social work activity and task into the welfare state. Voluntary agencies which previously had operated at a midway point as identified by Donzelot, became increasingly a constituent part of state welfare provision. (See Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

Before going on to examine the work of the NVA nationally and in Edinburgh, I will look at why there was felt to be a need to tackle the problems of prostitution, child sexuality and homosexuality at the end of the nineteenth century.

4.3 The Background

The passing of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act and the formation of the NVA in 1885 are best explained by examining three stages - first, the general acceptance of prostitution as a social problem requiring action; second, the lengthy battle which took place over the definitions of, and solutions towards the problem of prostitution; and third, the media hysteria which was whipped up specifically to fan the flames and to force

the public and politicians to take particular action on prostitution.

Prostitution - the Great Social Evil

None of the events which took place during or after August 1885 are understandable except in the context of the popular debates about prostitution and sexual morality which were a prominent feature of nineteenth century life. Prostitution was selected for special attention because it was regarded as more than simply a matter of private sexual conduct. Prostitution was symbolic of social evil, the outward manifestation of the underlying problems of urban life. The contemporary literature speaks for itself :-

"Let anyone walk certain streets of London, Glasgow or Edinburgh of a night, and without troubling his head with statistics, his eyes and ears will tell him at once what a multitudinous amazonian army the devil keeps in constant field service, for advancing his own ends. The stones seem alive with lust, and the very atmosphere is tainted."⁸⁶

While prostitution symbolised social evil, immorality was believed to be related to (and sometimes the cause of) poor housing, overcrowding, squalor, disease, and the threat of the working-class. Even cholera epidemics and typhoid were blamed first and foremost on a lack of morality in working-class people. (See Mort, 1987)⁸⁷

The Battle to Control Prostitution

Over and above this shared perception of prostitution and immorality as a fundamental social problem, prostitution received particular attention during the mid nineteenth century because of its supposed connections with venereal disease. The Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869⁸⁸ which entailed the registering, examination and isolation of women considered to be prostitutes were introduced as a deliberate attempt by politicians, medics and the army to counteract the debilitated and poor physical condition of the armed forces of the country. Venereal disease was rife in the army, and the government, intent on upgrading and professionalising the army, needed a way of controlling its spread. The control of prostitution was to be the means to achieve this end.

But the control of prostitution was far from being an unproblematic exercise. The CD Acts caused a huge controversy, with individuals and groups aligned for and against their institution. What was at stake here was not simply the behaviour of a few "immoral" women - it was a matter of individual liberty versus state control; a battle over the right to define and control behaviour, in this case, sexual behaviour. The CD Acts signified a contest over who had the authority/power to "speak" about prostitution and sexual behaviour; about where the discourses derived their legitimacy from; about how

prostitution was to be defined and resolved. (See Foucault, 1972)⁸⁹

Mort (1987)⁹⁰ outlines the participants involved in this struggle - the new professional experts (the medics and sanitarians), the philanthropists (middle-class female counterparts of the professional men), the improving employers, the clergy (established and non-Conformist clergymen adopting different positions⁹¹), and the politicians (Tory and Whig likewise on different sides of the debate.)⁹²

Medics and the new sanitarians presented the control of prostitution as a medical problem, to be tackled medically (hence the attempted control of VD through the imposition of the Contagious Diseases Acts.) Some medics and politicians regarded prostitution as a necessary safety-valve for men, whose sexual needs were felt to be uncontrollable and requiring to be satisfied (therefore prostitution should be state controlled to ensure a healthy population of prostitutes would be available to service men.) Other medics, such as William Acton, disagreed with this view, but nevertheless saw the CD Acts as the best way to control prostitution.⁹³

Acton's approach to prostitution was in some ways a pragmatic one. He saw it as a temporary phase in women's lives, a "transitory state" usually entered into at times

of unemployment. Venereal disease, for Acton, was a medical problem, not a moral one. He wrote of the CD Acts :-

"However much it may be the duty of the State to leave for settlement to the individual conscience all questions of morals and religion, it can hardly be seriously contended that it is right to abandon to the care of the improvident and profligate the restraining of contagious maladies ..."⁹⁴

Social purity campaigners argued that prostitution could never be controlled by legislation, since it was up to individual men to control their behaviour. They asserted that prostitution and regulation of prostitution should both be attacked since both upheld the sexual double standard which assumed different permissible standards of conduct for men and women. This did not imply that they believed that women ought to be allowed the same sexual freedoms as men. On the contrary, they regarded women as higher beings, whose sexual standards men should be encouraged to live up to. Individual conscience, sex education of working-class families (to encourage them to be more vigilant of their children's behaviour and adopt standards of supervision of young people more common in middle-class families), self-help and self-chastity through Purity Leagues would provide the necessary strategies.⁹⁵ Lucy Re-Bartlett (1912) expressed this viewpoint clearly :-

"Sex union in the human being should be limited strictly to the actual needs of creation. ... Women would no longer need to feel indignity or humiliation if in the act of union they knew they had never given themselves to their husbands only, but always to God and to the race."⁹⁶

Some feminists identified strongly with the social purity movement, though not all purity campaigners were feminists. Women like Josephine Butler and Ellice Hopkins grasped the opportunity to press for change in the sexual relations between men and women - to highlight rape within marriage, incest in the family, and the sexual vulnerability of women and children. They denounced the CD Acts for depriving women of their constitutional rights, and for licensing a medical examination which amounted to a mechanical rape. The language feminists used tended to be strongly Christian language - their calls were to Christian morality and Christian standards in which sex would become an activity freely engaged in by men and women solely for the purpose of procreation within marriage. (Chapter Five : **Secularisation and Social Work**, looks in more detail at ideas of Christian morality.)

Josephine Butler argued that the "new and final solution" to the evil of male vice was to lay moral responsibility and obligation on men, every other method being "fatally

incomplete".⁹⁷ For Butler and her supporters in the Ladies National Association (LNA), prostitution and venereal disease would always be a moral, not a medical problem :-

"Because, by such a system, the path of evil is made more easy to our sons, and to the whole of the youth of England; inasmuch as a moral restraint is withdrawn the moment the State recognises, and provides convenience for, the practice of a vice which it thereby declares to be necessary and venial. Because the conditions of this disease, in the first instance, are moral, not physical."⁹⁸

Clergymen opted for different sides in this debate. Some established church members supported the government and the institution of the CD Acts. Others argued that venereal disease was a punishment from God for evil conduct, and therefore should not be regulated in any way. (Some current attitudes to HIV/AIDS reflect this kind of thinking.) Non-conformist churches tended to support the Ladies National Association (LNA) position that state control actually encouraged prostitution, by allowing it to continue in a more safe manner - it amounted to a "government trade in vice."⁹⁹

Walkowitz (1980) claims that those who argued for and against the CD Acts in practice had much in common, and came from the same social grouping and background.¹⁰⁰

Both groups shared a concern for regulating prostitution; and both groups, perhaps surprisingly, held similar views of women's sexuality as being essentially passive. By concentrating on the characterisation of women as vulnerable victims, they chose to ignore the economic realities which forced many women into prostitution in the first place. And yet, the social purity movement was extremely influential in furthering the cause of women's rights and women's protection. In the words of Mort (1987) :- "The purity language of outrage, like the militant tactics of suffragette politics with which it was linked, continued to provide women with a powerful weapon to challenge men."¹⁰¹

(For more on the links between feminist and moral discourse, see Chapter Eight : **Women and the Social Work Task**)

The imposition of the CD Acts and the bitter campaign to have them removed, therefore illustrate the struggle which was taking place between individual and collective interests, between moral/feminist discourse and medical/sanitarian discourse, and between private philanthropy and state control in the control of prostitution and sexual behaviour. The passing of the CD Acts represents one axis linking several discourses involved in this struggle - the viewpoint propounded by the new medics, sanitarians and some politicians who were pressing for greater state control and the collective

over individual interests. The eventual suspension of the Acts in 1883 (and repeal in 1886) represents a victory for the liberal position - for the individual and private philanthropy.¹⁰²

But the reality was more complex. J.R. and D. Walkowitz (1974) suggest that although the Acts were suspended, control over the lives of accused prostitutes did not end - it was merely transformed to new agencies.¹⁰³ What happened was a coming-together of the agents who had been instrumental in carrying out the CD legislation (local policemen and paid informers) with the social purity campaigners, to set in motion a new system of control, organised around refuges and reformatory schools. There was in fact little distinction to be made between the regimes of the "voluntary" philanthropic refuges and the "compulsory" state lock hospitals. And both constituted in the terms of Foucault (1977)¹⁰⁴ "technologies of power", designed to create the very categories which they were set up to define and control.

With the suspension of the CD Acts, anxieties about prostitution did not however fade away. The contestation remained very much alive as campaigners on all sides struggled to impose their own views about the relationship between the individual and the state; about behaviour and how it should be controlled. Into the battleground a new weapon in the prostitution debates

emerged - this time, child prostitution and the white slave trade (the entrapment and removal of girls into brothels overseas). It was the moral panic (see Weeks 1985)¹⁰⁵ about child prostitution and the white slave trade which was to be the final spark which led to the passing of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, the formation of the NVA, and the beginnings of a new acceptance of a legitimate role for the state in defining and controlling sexual behaviour.

"The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon"

The story of "the Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" follows exactly the mechanisms of a moral panic as defined by Weeks (1985) :-

"the definition of a threat in a particular event ; the stereotyping of the main characters in the mass media as particular species of monsters; a spiralling escalation of the perceived threat, leading to the taking up of absolutist positions and the manning of the moral barricades ; the emergence of an imaginary solution - in tougher laws, moral isolation, a symbolic court action ; followed by the subsidence of the anxiety, with its victims left to endure the new proscriptions, social climate or legal penalties."¹⁰⁶

The threat which was played out in this moral panic was the entrapment of children into prostitution. The white slave trade scenario had already been well-played in the

public arena before "the Maiden Tribute" allegations hit the news-stands. Investigations into white slavery had previously taken place, and allegations of entrapment and enforced prostitution had hit the headlines on more than one occasion.¹⁰⁷ Novels on white slavery as well as newspaper articles were popular reading. What "the Maiden Tribute" series did was to escalate a threat already known and understood. William Stead, editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, admitted that he "only struck the match that fired a charged mine of enthusiasm".¹⁰⁸

On the week beginning 6th July 1885, William Stead published a series in the Pall Mall Gazette entitled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon", which detailed his own investigations into child prostitution in London and the story of his purchase of thirteen year old girl "Lily" and his removal of her to France. The articles were written in a sensational style, and were full of lurid detail of the rape of children who had been "snared, trapped, and outraged either under the influence of drugs or after a prolonged struggle in a locked room."¹⁰⁹

Typical of a moral panic was the stereotyping of the main characters as particular species of monsters - the aristocratic rakes who abused boys and girls (hence the last-minute clause in the 1885 Act which outlawed homosexual acts); the amoral foreigners who stole children (there was a definite racist edge to this and subsequent moral panics); and the hardened mothers who

sold their daughters into prostitution. Victims were also caricatured, as hapless innocents and unwilling parties to the events; or as debased, fallen young women. The level of detail and the sensational style of the articles was such that readers were outraged and titillated at the same time.

The stories caused a public outcry.¹¹⁰ On the second day of publication, W.H. Smiths, the largest retailer in the country, refused to sell any more copies of this scandalous newspaper. By the fourth day, London policemen arrested newboys for selling obscene literature. But still the newspapers sold in their thousands, exchanging hands for ten times their normal price on the black market. The articles were published in book form, translated, and sold all over Europe and America.

The interim conservative government was forced, under the weight of public protest, to carry out its own investigations into Stead's allegations, which confirmed the existence of the white slave trade, but questioned its extent. Protest meetings continued throughout Britain, and a petition with 393,000 signatures was presented to Parliament. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act was hurriedly introduced on 14th August 1885.

The main provisions of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act were as follows :-

- (i) it became an offence to procure a woman under 21 years of age for prostitution - those found guilty were liable to a prison sentence of not less than two years ;
- (ii) the age of sexual consent was raised from 13 to 16 years ;
- (iii) anyone who detained a woman or a girl for the purposes of unlawful sex, in any brothel or other premises was guilty of an offence ;
- (iv) any male found committing homosexual acts in private or public could be sent to prison for up to two years ;
- (v) financial penalties or imprisonment were imposed on anyone found guilty of keeping, managing, assisting, owning or renting out premises used as a brothel, or for the purposes of prostitution.

The end result of the passing of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act was that prostitutes found themselves increasingly vulnerable and under attack, on the streets rather than in the comparative safety of brothels or rented rooms ; male homosexuals were charged with indecent behaviour and imprisoned in great numbers ; and the new guardian of public and private morals, the NVA, sought to increase and strengthen its hold wherever possible.

Watney (1987) in his work on AIDS has pointed out what he sees as the severe limitations in the concept of the moral panic to the overall policing of sexuality, especially in matters of representation. He argues :-

"Moral panics seem to appear and disappear, as if representation were not the site of permanent ideological struggle over the meanings of signs. A particular moral panic merely marks the site of the current front-line in such struggles. We do not in fact witness the unfolding of discontinuous and discrete "moral panics", but rather the mobility of ideological confrontation across the entire field of public representations, and in particular those handling and evaluating the meanings of the human body, where rival and incompatible forces and values are involved in a ceaseless struggle to define supposedly universal "human" truths."¹¹¹

I believe that Watney is right - that we cannot subtract the event of the white slave trade panic out from the general field of contestation about sexual behaviour and who had the right to define and control it, and about the relationship between the individual, the family and the state. The "Maiden Tribute" series was successful not because it introduced new ideas and autonomously shaped and created public opinion. It was successful because it exploited deep-seated fears and anxieties, and because it

drew on a repertoire of feelings and representations already available in the public arena.

And yet the notion of a moral panic is useful nonetheless - useful at understanding some of the seemingly puzzling realities of a mass media campaign like this one. Most surprising for me is that the liberal/personal rights aspects of the social purity discourse were lost completely in the furore caused by the "Maiden Tribute" panic. Josephine Butler and her colleagues were so convinced of the moral rightness of their cause that they were prepared to manufacture a scandal to win public support. "The Maiden Tribute" revelations were in fact largely manufactured. Juvenile prostitution was a problem in London, but never to the extent which Stead alleged. And the purchase of "Lily" (Eliza Armstrong) was as seedy and unpleasant as any of the crimes which the articles purported to be concerned about.¹¹² The notion of a moral panic helps to explain the way in which particular sets of representations are created and re-created in the course of a media campaign, inevitably resulting in demands for a solution to the problem which they themselves describe and define.

4.4 The NVA Post-1885

In the early years after 1885, the NVA concentrated on three main areas - the need to develop the organisation nationally and internationally, to introduce further

legislation, and to engage in local anti-prostitution and anti-obscenity agitation, including the bringing of private prosecutions.

From 1885 onwards, new branches of the NVA opened up across Britain. Lecture tours and speeches by leading purity figures encouraged the growth of NVA branches at local level throughout Britain, so that by 1888 there were 300 affiliated groups.¹¹³ Religious revivals played a part in feeding anti-vice agitation. (Bristow, 1977) In 1901 and 1902, the Free Church Council sponsored what Bristow refers to as "the last great series of revival missions in Britain". These added thousands of new communicants to the non-Conformist denominations, and revitalised social purity institutions around the country.¹¹⁴

Legislation on the white slave trade and on sexual behaviour more generally remained a priority. As early as 1886, a legal sub-committee of the NVA was set up to consider further legislative measures on prostitution. This sub-committee recommended wide-ranging legislative changes, including the raising of the age of consent to eighteen years, the abolishment of the "escape clause" (which allowed male defendants to claim that they believed that the girl in a sexual assault case was over sixteen years of age), extending the time-limit for prosecutions, and criminalising incest and male

importuning. Neither of the first two recommendations ever became law. Others did however achieve success in subsequent legislation. In 1908 an Act was passed criminalising incest in England and Wales. In 1909 another Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill was introduced, and finally passed in 1912, extending the powers of the 1885 Act by giving courts discretionary powers to whip as well as imprison men convicted of procuring or living off the earnings of prostitutes. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1922 was the last piece of legislation on this subject. It lengthened to nine months the period during which a victim could lodge a complaint and it limited the "reasonable cause to believe" defence to men of twenty-three years or younger. (This was a compromise since Parliament refused to remove the despised "escape clause".)

There was also a lot of international activity and discussion fuelled by fresh press allegations about enforced prostitution of juveniles in brothels abroad. Coverage of white slave trade stories continued to excite the sensibilities of readers, and William Coote, NVA secretary, began an international crusade to tackle white slavery on a world-wide basis. International conferences and enquiries were held in 1904 and 1910, and agreements were negotiated regarding the traffic of women. In 1921 the League of Nations took over the work of the NVA International Bureau, and during the 1920s and 1930s co-

operated with the NVA on the seeking of agreements between countries on the repatriation of prostitutes; on the traffic of women and children; on the abolishment of "licensed houses"; and on assistance for expelled foreign prostitutes. The last official investigation of the traffic of women was the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Study of Traffic in Persons and Prostitution in 1959.¹¹⁵

The NVA initiated prosecutions in respect of indecent advertising, the music halls, prostitution and pornography; of the NVA's annual budget of two thousand pounds, half was spent on legal work.¹¹⁶ Special publicity stunts were organised, such as NVA Secretary William Coote's struggle in 1908 to clothe nude statues astride the British Medical Association offices in the Strand in London. Ware (1969) suggests that the early activities of the NVA were very unpopular with some local authorities, and magistrates often disapproved of the "meddling private bodies" who tried to close down tolerated resorts, especially when these were the gentlemen's clubs and variety theatres which fronted as "pick-up joints". In some areas, police and authorities did not want brothels closed down, believing that it was better that vice was kept "well in order."¹¹⁷ In others however, including Manchester and Birmingham, local police chiefs became members of the Association, and gave full support to NVA work. Here a two-way system of

regulation began to be established, where either purity groups presented information to the police, or the police referred cases to the purists themselves (Mort, 1987)¹¹⁸ Whichever system was in operation, the outcome for the prostitutes seems to have been much the same. They were driven out of brothels and places of entertainment and onto the streets, and into the hands of male pimps.¹¹⁹

The NVA was more than just a pressure-group or a private prosecution agency. It also attempted to give practical help and advice to young people, as a way of preventing their slide into immorality and prostitution. In 1885 the Travellers Aid Society (TAS) was set up under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The TAS aimed to have its workers posted at all the stations and docks, to befriend young British women who were travelling alone, and to turn away any foreign prostitutes who tried to disembark in Britain. In 1903 this work expanded when the NVA established its own International Guild of Service for Women, operating on complimentary lines to the TAS. By 1910, the Guild of Service operated throughout Europe, co-ordinated by a secret telegraphic code, common armbands and international conferences.¹²⁰

In spite of all this activity and achievement, the NVA from its very beginnings was an organisation fraught with contradiction and dissent. Unresolved tensions remained

within NVA supporters, between those whose aim was to abolish the evil of prostitution, by force if necessary, by harrassing prostitutes and closing down brothels and those, like Josephine Butler, who maintained that individual rights were as important as combatting vice. Open disagreement between feminists and social purity campaigners erupted regularly, and led to fights over legislation and intervention - particularly where this involved attempts to change the law to punish women for soliciting. Tensions also remained between the care and control sides of the NVA presentation - between a genuinely humanitarian response to the plight of abused and exploited women, and the strong impulse to set about controlling the behaviour of young women, and through them, the working-class in general. Some key figures in the early movement, notably Josephine Butler, finally withdrew from the movement altogether, unable to identify with the NVA's moves in the direction of further repression and state control.¹²¹

Another conflict within the vigilance movement arose out of the fact that so much of its rhetoric had been based on exaggeration of facts and outright lies. As I have said, juvenile prostitution was never on a scale as had been suggested, and entrapment into prostitution was only ever a very rare occurrence. While stories about the drugging of young women and the evils of sexual promiscuity continued to excite the public imagination,

some feminists expressed their disgust at "a campaign of sedulously cultivated sexual hysterics."¹²²

Gorham (1978)¹²³ claims that many of the reformers did not fully understand either their own motives or the nature of the problem which they were attempting to confront, and she cites the age of consent controversy as an example of this. NVA supporters were pushing for the extension of the age of consent to 21 years, based on their view that girls and young women were defenceless creatures who required supervision and surveillance. But there were huge class differences between the experiences of working-class children (who routinely left home to find work, aged 12 or 13 years) and the sheltered lives of middle-class children. Gorham asserts that "by concentrating on sexual exploitation, middle-class reformers could ignore their own complicity in a more generalised exploitation of girls and young women."¹²⁴ She continues :-

"Victorian middle-class ideology about the nature of "true womanhood" and women contained a fundamental contradiction : the sheltered lives that middle-class girls and women were ideally supposed to lead depended directly on the labour of working-class girls and women, who through their services created the material conditions necessary to maintain the middle-class woman's style of life."¹²⁵

So what became of the vigilance movement and the NVA? After an explosion of activity in its early years, the NVA by the 1930s was in difficulty, though it held on for another thirty years or so. By the 1920s, the movement no longer spoke with a single voice on prostitution. Puritans and feminists went their separate ways, with the former pressing for tighter state control of vice, and the latter for liberalisation and equalisation of solicitation laws. New social purity organisations grew up, organisations which had little interest in feminist ideas and which were much more concerned to express a new commitment to physical, moral and racial health - what Bland and Mort (1984) refer to as a new "medico-moral coalition."¹²⁶ Financially, the NVA was struggling, and was forced to contract and reduce some of its activities.¹²⁷ It had never been successful in recouping from the government the costs of private prosecutions, and funds were extremely limited for pursuing further prosecutions. Over and above this, early supporters were dying off, and the organisation found it difficult to attract new, rich patrons to its cause.¹²⁸ The demand for the international work changed too, as it was largely overtaken in 1945 by United Nations agencies concerned with this work.

What was left for the NVA was some continued anti-obscenity campaigning (for example against striptease shows in 1937 and stage nudity at the Windmill Theatre in

London in the early 1950s) and the support for travellers through the work at the stations and docks.¹²⁹ The NVA also joined up with the Public Morality Council to press for the closure of nightclubs, gaming houses and brothels, and highlighted a new "growing offence" - male indecency. It engaged in a lengthy battle to encourage the government to introduce legislation enforcing the licensing of commercial Employment Agencies, and to tighten up legislation on Street Offences. And it brought to the public attention the plight of Irish girls in Britain, who had been promised work by agencies and then found themselves without work or accommodation.

On the legislative side, the British Vigilance Association (new name of the NVA following an amalgamation with the British National Committee) campaigned for legislation on "horror comics", resulting in the Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act of 1955, and presented evidence on prostitution to the Wolfenden committee - the Departmental Enquiry on Homosexuality and Prostitution. Throughout the 1960s, the BVA pushed for legislation to raise the minimum age permissible for au pairs to seventeen years of age; for a European au pair convention; and for the passing of a new Street Offences Act which would target men as well as women for prosecution.

Financial difficulties remained, however, and the BVA was finally wound up at an Extraordinary General Meeting on 6 December 1971.

4.5 The NVA of Scotland (Eastern Division)

I would now like to turn to the policies and practices, the ideas and the interventions of the NVA (Eastern Division) to highlight some of the questions and the contradictions arising out of the vigilance discourse.

The NVA of Scotland (Eastern Division) was founded in November 1911, in response to the campaign to pass the new Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, known as the White Slave Traffic Bill,¹³⁰ and one year after the first Scottish branch opened in Glasgow.

The early work of the NVA (Eastern Division) illustrates the heterogeneity of vigilance activities. It was work which set out to change public attitudes and behaviour, by restriction, by control, by education. At a public meeting in Edinburgh in May 1912, NVA member Rev. Drummond declared that "there is nothing like publicity for frightening men and women who are trafficking on the bodies and souls of others out of the evil ways in which they are going."¹³¹ By 1928, Lord Provost Sir Alexander Stevenson was confident enough to claim that the NVA's strategy was working. At the Annual General Meeting he asserted that Edinburgh was becoming "not only a

healthier, but a purer place to live, as public statistics showed. Punishment, restriction, prevention and moral suasion are all doing their part in that great improvement."¹³²

The Association engaged in anti-pornography campaigns - checking films, plays and pantomimes for obscenity; pressing for the removal of books, prints and postcards. Prostitution was also targetted - through the investigation and exposing of brothels, "risky" dance-halls, "dangerous houses", and public parks used for rendez-vous at night.¹³³ At the same time, patrolling at night on the streets and in the docks and stations acted as a moral presence, and a physical preventive to immoral conduct. Interestingly it was not just women who were seen as potential victims requiring protection. During World War One, the outdoor worker patrolled outside the barracks in Edinburgh to prevent soldiers being molested by women, reflecting the new concern about the threat of "amateur prostitutes."¹³⁴

Another important part of NVA work was court work. NVA workers regularly attended police and sheriff courts to assist young women and act as probation officers when requested.¹³⁵ The deployment of probation workers from voluntary agencies continued far longer in Edinburgh than in other cities. After the Probation of Offenders Act in 1931, The Lord Provost of Edinburgh decided not to

appoint salaried officers "in view of the unqualified success of the voluntary probation system presently in operation."¹³⁶ The Juvenile Organisations Committee (JOC) in Edinburgh supported this stance - "to obviate the danger of imparting a purely official atmosphere to the relationship between officer and probationer, and of thus endangering the friendly feeling which has made the Edinburgh Probation system so conspicuous a success."¹³⁷ The last record of the NVA in Edinburgh's involvement in probation work is 1944. In 1946 the NVA withdrew from the JOC, suggesting that its commitment to youth work of this kind had ended. In 1947, local authority statutory provision of probation work began.

Sex education was another early concern of the NVA - not sex education in terms of advice to young people on how to have safe sex, but sex education which railed against the dangers and evils of extra-marital sex. NVA supporters pressed school boards in 1913 and 1914 to introduce sex education in schools, and at the same time carried out their own campaign of public education. Leaflets to men, women and girls were sold in their thousands at meetings and rallies. (See Appendix for an illustration of this material.)

The legislative thrust remained prominent up to the passing of the 1922 Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, after which time, the Association members displayed great

ambivalence to attempts to change the law, often unable to reach agreement amongst themselves. Such ambivalence exactly paralled disputes and controversy within the NVA as a whole.¹³⁸

Over and above the actual vigilance work, the Association maintained a high profile in more general campaigns around what might be termed women's issues. Members fought for better lighting in parks and streets (1912); for the provision of public toilets for women (1913); for the appointment of women doctors to the courts (1916 and 1924); and carried out a protracted and hard-fought struggle from 1914 until the early 1940s to get police-women appointed in Edinburgh. (See Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work**)

What is distinctive about the early vigilance work is that this was very public work - it happened on the streets, in the meeting-places, in the public arena. In spite of the fact that the subject of prostitution and sexuality itself was highly controversial, middle-class men and women were prepared to stand out in the public gaze and engage in what was potentially dangerous work - dangerous to their reputations and sometimes dangerous to their persons. The idea of a public presence is very strong in the agency literature. The 1929 Annual Report notes :-

"The very presence of a Vigilance representative every

evening in the station keeps away the undesirable characters who at one time found these places veritable hunting grounds."¹³⁹

The NVA was not the only agency engaged in such activity in Edinburgh at this time. A large number of "benevolent" organisations - churches and evangelical groups as well as the NVA employed women to patrol the streets and survey behaviour. Manuals were published which described what to look out for - the girl who did not seem to welcome the attentions of a man, the men who were cruising about looking for girls. There was even competition at times for control of the streets. In 1913, the NVA outdoor worker investigated a report of a woman dressed as a nurse accosting girls in Princes Street. (The picture of a nurse was a typical white slave trade representation of a way of duping innocent girls.) This "nurse" was later found to be a worker from the Baptist Church in Rose Street.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps the most important feature about the objects which the NVA discourse addressed (its individual cases and its public campaigns) is that they were not on the whole prostitutes. The NVA was not, and never intended to be a rescue agency dealing with "fallen women". On the contrary, it aimed to prevent women from falling into prostitution, and used a wide range of activities to this end. In Edinburgh, the "individual cases" (a term which

appears in the earliest records) always had a high priority. Although agency records tell us little about what took place in a routine meeting between an outdoor worker and a case, we can find out a lot about who the cases were, where they came from, and the help they received.

Most cases were young women aged between 16 and 23 years, though a substantial number were under 16 years of age (for example the 12 year old in 1913 who was recorded as "thoroughly bad and suffering from disease."¹⁴¹) A few were older, for example a 28 year old pregnant woman from Inverness was helped in 1914.¹⁴² While principal clients were women, men were not forgotten. When parents of runaway girls were contacted, both parents were expected to be involved in discussions. When a girl reported sexual abuse, workers attempted to trace "the man who had put the girl wrong."¹⁴³ In cases of illegitimate pregnancy, workers pursued putative fathers for the payment of maintenance towards the cost of boarding-out the child, or of a children's home.¹⁴⁴ Occasionally, boys were regarded as being in moral danger, and became agency cases.¹⁴⁵

The young women who sought help from the NVA, or were referred to the NVA by parents or court or other voluntary or public bodies (including the workhouse, the Children's Shelter, and the police) came to the NVA

primarily because they were in difficulty. They were unemployed, they were homeless or living in "dangerous surroundings"¹⁴⁶, and they had no money and no means of support. Some had run away from home, from employers and from institutions, and some had suffered sexual abuse or assault. Others were in a short-term predicament - they had missed their last bus or train home, or had ran out of money. Some were pregnant, or had recently had an illegitimate baby - these were the cases which were to increasingly take up the time of the NVA workers. Occasionally, women who were prostitutes were helped, but only on the strict understanding that they should not "return to their former lives".

The NVA's task varied according to the nature of the case. Some women were given temporary accommodation, a loan of cash, or were accompanied back home again, or sometimes to a boat from where they would emigrate to start a new life in north America or Australia. Others were found work (often domestic service or hospital work), lodgings, and where necessary, a boarding-out placement for their babies. Many were taken to institutions to be re-educated morally and spiritually and to learn a useful trade (again, domestic service and laundry work featured prominently.) For a fuller description of the policies and practices in institutions, see Chapter Five : **Secularisation and Social Work.**

4.6 The Vigilance Discourse in Decline and the Emergence of Casework

The biggest change which took place within the NVA (Eastern Division) was the move away from public work in the streets and public arena as the main focus of concern to work which was centred on the private world of the individual and the family. It was the individual work with cases which became the main growth-point within the agency's work,¹⁴⁷ as increasingly the rooting out of prostitution and immorality was left to the new experts in the situation - the police and the medical authorities. This shift illustrates a major transformation which had been taking place away from voluntary philanthropic intervention towards state agencies and statutory mechanisms for investigation and control of behaviour. It also marks a shift away from surveillance of the body to supervision of the mind - the replacement of moral discourse and language with the new psychodynamic and medical discourses which targetted thoughts and feelings rather than physical control of bodies. (See Foucault, 1977)¹⁴⁸

This was not a transformation which happened overnight. On the contrary, tensions between new and old discourses are visible from the 1930s into the late 1950s. Strands of vigilance interest remained until the early 1950s, as the Association continued to send delegates to British

National Committee meetings in London, and to get involved sporadically in local anti-pornography agitation and enquiries.¹⁴⁹ But increasingly, the Association displayed discomfort at its vigilance origins, usually expressed in attempts to change the name of the organisation. After years of debate about the name, in 1941 the Association swapped its two titles and became "The International Guild of Service for Women and The National Vigilance Association (Eastern Division)."

Changes in the work and the client-group reflected this new spirit in the agency. In order to make way for the new case work, the agency gave up its station patrolling in 1946, leaving station work to the two paid police-women now in post. At the same time, probation work ended, as a new salaried probation service was established in Edinburgh.¹⁵⁰ The Eastern Division did not give up helping travellers completely at this time - the agency still took referrals from the NVA in London and from other organisations who informed them of women coming to Edinburgh seeking work or accommodation. But the drive in the work was clearly coming from the ever-increasing numbers of women presenting at the agency with illegitimate pregnancies - the "mother and baby cases." Within this group, the needs of the illegitimate children began to take precedence. By the 1940s it was the work with children which held the hopes and aspirations of the staff and committee members.

The final break with the vigilance work in Edinburgh came in the period after the resignation of Miss Stewart as Organising Secretary in 1954. In 1958, the new Director set out to streamline the work. Travellers' aid enquiries were stopped altogether, and cases referred on to the YWCA instead. In 1959, the title "NVA" was removed from the agency's name, marking the end of any formal association with vigilance work and agencies.¹⁵¹ (For more on the change-over to case work, see Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work** and Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

4.7 Present-Day Social Purity/ Vigilance Discourse

But what of the social purity discourse? Was it lost forever with the demise of the NVA? I believe that many of the principal aims of the purity discourse have been unsuccessful - the imposition of Christian standards of sexual morality and family life cannot be said to have been achieved given the high divorce figures and numbers of couples choosing to live together outwith marriage. Men's sexual standards have not been raised to those of women, and arguably the reverse is true - that women from the 1960s onwards, thanks to the availability of contraception and abortion, have been able to lower their standards to those of men. (Feminists today are concerned about just who was liberated by the permissive climate of the 1960s and 1970s.)

In spite of this, I would argue that social purity ideas are still very much in evidence in the public domain today, and have been incorporated into present-day social work discourse. They still inform both every-day assumptions and "professional" assessments about children "at risk", girls in "moral danger", the definition of "dangerous" surroundings, and most important of all, the sexual double standard which treats men and women differently remains part-and-parcel of psychodynamic and sociological explanations for, and solutions towards behaviour defined as "deviant."

And social purity organisations still exist today, though there are major differences between the successful coalition of agencies which existed at the end of the nineteenth century and the social purity movement today. There is no unity today between feminist anti-pornography campaigners and the purists who support Mary Whitehouse, the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association, and other moral re-armament campaigns. Issues such as pornography, contraception, abortion, censorship, prostitution, and rape are all tackled separately by opposing groups, and attempts to make links between issues, for example pornographic literature/ films and sexual assaults on women, have not had much success. Smart, 1981¹⁵² suggests that this may be because

the moral discourse on sexuality has been largely superceded by a legal discourse, often expressed in medical terms, with medical experts and legal rulings dictating terms of reference and parameters of permissible behaviour, not middle-class female philanthropists or male clergymen.

Social purity organisations are not the only reminder of vigilance days. Street patrolling has re-emerged in recent years, with social workers befriending prostitutes and runaway teenagers in Edinburgh (Leith), Glasgow and London.¹⁵³ And controversy over questions of sexual morality has not disappeared either. A recent uproar was created in the press when the Mothers' Union of the Church of England called for the legalisation of brothels in an attempt to stop the spread of AIDS. The Bishop of Liverpool backed their stance; Mary Whitehouse was appalled.¹⁵⁴

Moral panics have again emerged in recent years focusing on children and sexuality, and crystallising the long-contested issues about childhood and the state's right to intervene in the family. This time it was not juvenile prostitution which was at the centre of the publicity, but child abuse, and more particularly, child sexual abuse. The 1970s and 1980s were characterised by regular public enquiries into child abuse scandals where social workers were criticised for not doing enough to protect

children's physical well-being - Maria Colwell Inquiry 1974, Jasmine Beckford 1985, Tyra Henry 1987, Kimberley Carlisle 1987. The 1980s also featured widespread media interest in some of the unsavoury child sexual abuse stories of the day, reaching a crescendo in 1987 with the beginning of a new organisation, "Childline", a telephone referral service for children who had been sexually abused.¹⁵⁵ Then in 1987, a new and very different child abuse scandal erupted. The so-called Cleveland affair of 1987 was different because for the first time social workers (and paediatricians) were criticised for taking too much action - parental rights had been supposedly overlooked in the quest to safeguard children's safety. This and the subsequent Orkney scenario have led to a re-negotiation of the rights and duties of parents and social workers as laid down in the Children Act of 1989 (England and Wales.) This Act clearly delineates for the first time the responsibilities of social workers to involve parents in all care proceedings, while at the same time laying down clear guidelines and procedures for social workers to follow - child protection systems have clearly replaced child welfare services.¹⁵⁶ (Scotland has currently been carrying out its own review of childcare legislation.)

Social purity themes have also been re-played over the last few years in connection with HIV and AIDS. The popular media has played a critical role in shaping

opinion over AIDS, setting the boundaries for debate, identifying the problem and its potential solutions. (Mort, 1987) Homosexuals, prostitutes and drug-users are blamed for spreading the disease. Mort reminds us that tales of sexual outrage are never isolated cases - they must be understood in their wider social and political vocabulary :-

"AIDS has come to occupy a distinctive place on the ideological repertoire of the moral right ... More and more, "sexual undesirables" have been twinned with the "socially undesirable."¹⁵⁷

Perhaps the most far-reaching consequence of the social purity discourse on social work today is the statutory definition of women and girls as persons in need of special protection and special surveillance. (Smart, 1981)¹⁵⁸ This principle was embodied in the 1885 Act and carried through in legislation since then, thus legitimating in law what was essentially a moral position. Social purity campaigners fought, as I have argued, not simply to remove the sexual double standard, but to raise the sexuality of men to that of women. Their explicit assumptions were that women were less sexual than men ; that sex was for procreation only ; that sexually active women were victims in need of recovery and protection. Today women within the criminal justice system are still treated very differently to men. They are likely to be imprisoned for less serious

offences, and locked up for longer periods. Received wisdom suggests that the decision to lock women up or not depends on their status as good or bad wives and mothers, rather than the nature of the offences committed.¹⁵⁹ The same is true for girls. Girls coming before juvenile courts and children's hearings are more likely than boys to be there for reasons which have to do with their sexual behaviour - they are defined as being "in moral danger". Once identified as such, they are more likely to be removed from home, again for their protection and control.¹⁶⁰ The reasons for such differential treatment are most likely to be expressed in psychological or pseudo-medical language, but the underlying sentiments are firmly social purity ones. And again, feminist social workers are here faced with the same dilemmas as confronted our nineteenth century forebearers, because women and girls are more at risk from men.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has been about a beginning and an ending - about the beginning of a new acceptance of a role for the state in the private world of sexuality, and about the eclipse of the vigilance discourse. The state's entry into the private realm of sexuality and family life was at first very cautious - the initiatives came from feminists and social purists, not the government.¹⁶¹ But as the social purity movement was prepared to use the law to achieve its demands, so what had been defined as

private and moral concerns became legalised and institutionalised. This legal legitimation has been mirrored and reflected by the new medical and psycho-analytic discourses (See Donzelot 1980, Smart 1981, and Smart 1989)¹⁶² which have finally ousted and replaced the old amateur, voluntarist, moral approaches.

What this chapter has been about, therefore, is a battle - a battle to define sexuality, childhood, and the correct behaviour for men and women; a battle over how to impose these standards and principles; and a battle over who has the right and power to do so. This contestation has, in the main, been waged by the middle-classes. At times, the protagonists have been feminists against medics and sanitarians. At other times, feminists and medics have joined forces to push the government into action. In both cases, the object of the discourse has been an attempt to define and control the sexual behaviour of all classes, using as its model the ideal of the bourgeois family. Whether carried out in a repressive, punitive way (as in the CD Acts and the strict regime of the rescue home) or in a liberal, supportive way (as in the help given to pregnant women and to stranded girls), the overall effect has been to bring under increasing scrutiny and control the behaviour of working-class people who have almost always been the targets of the vigilance discourse. This social control has had positive as well as negative aspects, giving

social workers permission to intervene on behalf of abused children, at the same time as affording the state greater surveillance into family life.

I finish this chapter with a report on vigilance work, past and present, published in the NVA magazine, "The Vigilance Record", in July 1920. This report speaks for itself, and vividly illustrates the positive and the negative, the punitive and the supportive aspects of the vigilance discourse - the care and control continuum which lies at the very heart of the social work task.

The Vigilance Record

The Organ of the National Vigilance Association.

Head Office: 2, GROSVENOR MANSIONS, 76, VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1.

No. 7. [NEW SERIES.]

JULY, 1920.

Price One Penny.

PAST AND PRESENT.

In seeking new friends for our work we are constantly asked questions as to how, why and when the Association was formed, and what was the nature and scope of the work it was intended to undertake. The necessity of having to focus one's mind on the daily problems and volume of work brought to us, is apt to obliterate, or at any rate to cause to recede into the background the original programme formulated by the founders. A retrospective gaze into those past days has, however, been so fruitful of gratitude and satisfaction that we feel sure it will interest our readers, and encourage those who are working with us to press forward the aims of the Association, to see how faithfully the original lines of work laid down at the commencement have been adhered to. At a Conference held at St. James's Hall on August 21st, 1885, presided over by the Right Hon. Sir James Stansfeld, the following ten points were drafted and carried as the essential features of the future work of the Association just inaugurated. To press upon the attention of all good citizens:—

1. The importance of personal purity.
2. The principle that the law of chastity must be equally binding upon man as upon woman.
3. The importance of an elevated ideal of woman and of her place in the world.
4. The meanness and cruelty of immorality, which dooms women to life-long shame in order to minister to the mere lust of men.
5. The duty of parental warning and instruction.
6. The responsibility of mistresses and employers of labour for the protection of young persons in their employment.
7. The importance of economic and sanitary conditions in contributing to the preservation of chastity.
8. The need for discouraging the circulation of impure literature.
9. The importance of greater simplicity of life.
10. The need of associated effort on the part of women, both in the interest of their own sex and in the interest of public morality.

In reviewing the work accomplished during the past

35 years it is most gratifying to see how it has been steadily maintained and progressed on the lines above indicated, and how literally the promises and precepts of that time have been fulfilled.

It is an essentially Christian work. There is no love of God which does not find its expression in love for mankind. Love for God must take some human form, and the service of God includes service of our neighbour. This has been constantly demonstrated throughout, and is a source of inspiration to us now when we have lost so many advocates and co-workers. Remembering the promise "As thy day thy strength shall be," we know that fresh help will be forthcoming in exactly the proportion it is needed.

The reports regularly received from the respective National Committees are likewise most inspiring, and confirm the conviction always so strongly insisted upon by Mr. Coote that good seed sown in faith is bound at some time or other to produce a harvest, no matter how unfavourable apparently may be the conditions.

No surprise could have been felt had the work of the National Committees so languished that it died, but the contrary is the case. Not only is every effort made by them to carry out the original programme of work formulated, but keen desire is evinced to go even further, and to do all that is possible to solve the social problems that have since arisen, or are perhaps phases of the old evils in a fresh guise.

W. A. COOTE MEMORIAL FUND.

The following amounts have been received since we last went to Press:—

	£	s.	d.
Banister, Miss I. M.	1	0	0
Chinnery, Miss	0	5	0
Dobbs, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fraser, Mrs. A.	1	0	0
Jackson, Mrs. Valentine	5	0	0
Jones-Davies, Mr. and Mrs. E.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	5	0	0
Liddiard, James E., F.R.G.S.	1	1	0
Morgan, E. Vaughan	10	0	0
Parke, Mrs. H.	0	10	0
Scholte, Mrs. Emma	1	1	0
Scoones, E. F.	1	0	0
Vaux, The Rev. G. B.	1	1	0

Total £29 0 0

danger of an unwanted child; and it should be remembered that no method of birth control is 100% certain.

3.—Many women can easily arouse in men the desire for physical sex expression, without experiencing any difficulty in keeping their own self-control. If this power is exerted by a girl who has no intention of giving way to the man—or who in other words “can take care of herself,” then she is being very unfair to him; she increases his difficulties and he may, in consequence, seek sex satisfaction with an undesirable type of woman who will merely satisfy the physical need which has been so unfairly aroused, and from whom he may get, instead of friendship and help—a venereal disease.

4.—On the other hand, some girls do not realise how quickly casual fondling may lead through further intimacies, to complete surrender. Such a girl is very likely to drift much further than she ever intended. These friendships may often last only a short time, and the man who asks one girl he meets casually, will probably ask another. If physical relationships are indulged in, these are likely to be casual and fleeting and the girl in this case may find herself infected with one or both of the venereal diseases, *i.e.*, syphilis or gonorrhoea.

A WORD TO THE “ENGAGED” GIRL.

Girls sometimes believe that by granting intimacy before marriage they can ensure that the man will remain faithful; it too often happens that a man thus satisfied is no longer so keen on the girl herself. For this and other reasons it is a mistake, and in the last war was the cause of much suffering. Remember, sex experience to be complete needs to be associated with real affection and understanding on the part of both

WOMEN IN WAR TIME

EVERY woman wants to play her part in the present emergency, and every woman's work and goodwill is needed. One of the most important contributions she can render is to replace or work side by side with the men. Men and women will therefore have to learn not only to work together, but also to help each other in their leisure hours.

It is quite possible for men and women to be friends, and really good friends, but there are pitfalls and these will be much easier to avoid if girls know something about the place of sex in life.

THE REAL USE OF SEX.

Sex, rightly regarded, is associated with beauty and harmony, and with the really important things in life, courtship, marriage, parenthood and family life, and all the dreams of the future which these thoughts bring to mind. Sex plays an important part in our whole life, and links up all our senses and feelings. Womanly sex attributes include all her feminine attractions, and misuse of sex spoils the whole woman.

POINTS FOR GIRLS TO REMEMBER.

- 1.—The greater a girl's power of attracting men the greater her responsibility for using her influence in the right way.
- 2.—It is not necessary to point out to men or to women that promiscuous sexual relations bring with them the obvious

partners. Sex relations that are merely physical and do not carry with them fully shared responsibilities such as are provided by marriage are only on the instinctive level of animal behaviour and lack human values.

WHAT ARE THE VENEREAL DISEASES?

Veneraeal diseases come from germs and are only passed on from one person to another by close contact. The prevalent idea that they can be caught from germs left on lavatory seats, for example, is greatly exaggerated. This can scarcely ever happen because these germs can only live for a very short time outside the human body. They are **not** carried by animals or in the air. Sexual intercourse itself does not produce disease, but promiscuous sex relationships are most likely to lead to intercourse with a person already infected. Any discharge or sore that arises soon after sexual contact should be looked on with suspicion and a doctor consulted as soon as possible. Both diseases are curable if a fully qualified doctor is consulted at once, or, if a visit is paid to one of the free treatment centres provided by the local government authorities. The address of the nearest clinic is usually posted up in women's public lavatories. An enquiry sent with a stamped addressed envelope to the Medical Department of the British Social Hygiene Council, Tavistock House South, London, W.C.1, will ensure the sending of information in confidence. All treatment at the clinics is free and secret. You should have this information so that you can pass it on to any friend who may be in trouble.

Do not accept or give advice as to whether anyone has become infected since only a doctor can know, and even a doctor may have to make careful laboratory examination before he can say whether a sore or a discharge is dangerous or harm-

less. Early treatment means little illness and complete cure. Delay or neglect of treatment may mean months or years of illness. No remedies that are advertised apply to these diseases as it is illegal to advertise their treatment.

We believe that the present war is being waged to defend our liberty as a free people able to govern ourselves; let us prove ourselves worthy of freedom by accepting the responsibilities it brings, of which not the least important is the control of our sex life on which depends so much the future happiness and well-being of the country.

Do not hesitate, in any doubt or difficulty, to consult your doctor or medical officer; or information and guidance may be obtained in the strictest confidence from the Medical Secretary, British Social Hygiene Council, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SECULARISATION AND SOCIAL WORK

5.1 Introduction

This chapter picks up and develops a major theme from Chapter Four, that is, the centrality of moral and Christian discourses to the values and knowledge-base of social work - to the way in which social problems have been formulated, and the social work task has been ideologically and practically constructed.

This chapter perhaps more than any other in this thesis has taken me by surprise as the research has progressed. I began with the expectation that I would be recording the decreasing influence of the church in particular and Christian discourse in general on social work affairs. I was aware from written material that there had been a time in the early period of the agency when the church and Christian ideas, values and practices had played a very important part in the agency's work and motivations. I also knew that over time this had changed - that the church ceased to be involved in the organisation in all kinds of ways (clergymen disappeared from committees, a "church connection" was no longer deemed necessary for a successful adoption application.) I expected therefore to be recording what might be described as the secularisation of the social work task.

As my interviews and documentary research proceeded however, I quickly became aware that religious discourse and Christian ethics had not in fact disappeared from the social work scene at Family Care. Instead, two processes were at work here. Professional social work had borrowed and re-packaged key ideas and practices from Christian discourse, presenting them as new and very different. And the women who carried out the day-to day social work practice, as paid and unpaid workers, were frequently devout Christians who privately defined their work in terms of Christian service while publicly distancing themselves from the older, religious social work discourse. The Christian discourse had not in fact disappeared, though its expression was very different.

This chapter will therefore examine two separate but interconnecting threads. I will first explore the influence of the formal aspects of the Christian church as an institution on this organisation. Then I will turn to key aspects of the Christian discourse and consider their place in the agency's history - in the daily practices and taken-for-granted assumptions which make up the social work task. I will look for the moments when the Christian and the secular perspectives have been in conflict, and at the same time, try to understand some of the continuous themes as well.

I hope that my analysis will make it clear that the Christian discourse - like feminism or professionalism - never operates in one single, complete way. Christian ideas of service may be blamed for oppressing generations of women; or they may be applauded for giving middle-class women the excuse to leave the stifling prison of their homes and devote themselves to public work. Both statements are true, and yet neither tells the whole story of the contradictions, uncertainties and contestation which is what discourse (and life) is all about. In one of his last interviews, Foucault (1984) argues that no discourse is inherently liberating or oppressive - "not everything is bad, but everything is dangerous."¹⁶³ What is important therefore about the Christian discourse within social work is the way in which it names, classifies and then attempts to control and regulate the behaviour and actions of those whom it addresses.

I must state from the beginning that Family Care has never throughout its history defined itself as a Christian organisation. This is in marked contrast to organisations such as the Church of Scotland social work department, which insists on a "live church connection" and a "commitment to Christianity" in its advertisements for staff.¹⁶⁴ However, I acknowledge that the Christian tradition in Family Care (with its roots in highly religious moral welfare work) may be stronger than in

other social work settings, such as social work area teams or some community work settings. I nevertheless believe that there are issues about the Christian discourse which are general to social work, although examined here in the specific context of Family Care.

5.2 The Process of Secularisation

The standard account of the process of secularisation suggests that social and economic change in Western societies has led to a breakdown in authority for organised religion, and an accompanying privatisation and individualisation of religious experience. Religious belief has become something which individuals and families *choose* to get involved in, rather than a kind of social cement for the whole of society - a way of holding people in the same value-systems and systems of morality. Because religion has no meaning outwith the private sphere, it has become neutralised, unable to contribute to wider social and political matters. Secular organisations and a myriad of churches and sects have taken the place formerly held by organised religion - we live in a pluralist society. (See Berger, 1969)165

There is much debate about how and when and why this secularisation process has come about. Martin (1978) puts forward a general theory of secularisation in which he argues that secularisation is the end result of a crucial event plus the resultant patterns which lead on

from this event. In Scotland's case, he argues that the Scottish Reformation plus the combined impact of the Scottish Enlightenment and Calvinism both led in the direction of inevitable rationalism and secularisation.¹⁶⁶ Callum Brown (1987)¹⁶⁷ identifies signs of "serious changes in the status of organised religion and in the acceptance of the evangelical analysis of industrial society " in the period from the late 1880s onwards - changing leisure habits, the rise of socialism and the labour movement, the ecumenical reunion within Protestantism. He suggests that what was particularly daunting for the churches was that the agenda for social action at this time emanated from the labour movement, rather than from any evangelical or religious source.

More recently, two World Wars have had an impact on church membership - numbers declined during both wars, and did not recover after the Second World War. Currie et al (1977) point to the "unprecedented in peacetime conditions" decline in church membership since 1960, which they relate to a weakening of traditional positions and established authority and an increasing privatisation of all individual and social activities. Expressions of a "belief in God" are not indications that secularisation is not happening, since belief itself has changed - God has become "personal, not supernatural".¹⁶⁸

Forrester (1985) is similarly concerned about more recent changes in the status of organised religion. He states that at the same time as religious observance has become a personal, privatised affair, the church as an institution has lost its status and its power to influence. He writes :-

"Whatever the reasons may be there is no doubt that the churches in Britain have lost much influence in the last 30 years. They no longer have an almost guaranteed access to the corridors of power, a right to represent their views on a whole range of public issues ..."¹⁶⁹

While politicians on the left have struggled with the implications of a multi-faith, pluralist society, those on the right have fought to confine the church to the realms of the spiritual, to limit its involvement in public affairs and "political" arenas. Forrester points out that sociology books on British society written in the late 1970s/early 1980s no longer see it necessary to give any attention to the role of the church.

Wilson (1966) sums up :-

"The whole significance of the secularisation process is that society does not, in the modern world, derive its values from certain religious preconceptions which are then the basis for social organisation and social action."¹⁷⁰

Secularisation Re-visited

For all the qualifications and the subtleties of argument introduced by those who have written about the secularisation process, we are left with an overwhelming impression that this has been a gradually increasing, impenetrable, evolutionary process which has never been effectively challenged and which seems to have a life and a direction of its own - it is outwith control. But my research for this chapter, and a sprinkling of Foucault's ideas on continuity and change have proved very useful correctives to this picture.

One of the main premises of the secularisation argument is that at some time in the past, Scotland was a religious society - a society in which Christian values were held by all, and in which the organised Church was viewed as having legitimate control over social and political matters as well as private affairs. This premise can be challenged in three ways. First, as Hapgood (1983)¹⁷¹ rightly claims, there was no halcyon time in the past when religion was all important and no secular present where religion plays no part. In reality, the church has always had to struggle to maintain its position and its authority, conventionally by aligning itself with the powerful class and ruling groups in society.

This links into my second point. The notion that the organised church in the past had some wider political and social remit is itself circumspect. Smith (1987)¹⁷² argues that established Scottish churches during the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries consistently remained aloof from social criticism and agitation of any kind. (Although the Church of Scotland remained politically neutral, the Free Church of Scotland and the United Free Church did not.¹⁷³) The vigilance controversy illustrates well churches' reluctance to take a stand in the sexuality debates. William Coote (1916), NVA Secretary, describes the churches' position of neutrality at the time of the initial struggles to form the NVA nationally in 1875 :-

"... the worst difficulty against which we had to contend at that time was the almost sepulchral silence of the Churches. They neither blamed nor praised, but, as in the case of Pilate, washed their hands of all responsibility."¹⁷⁴

But this is not to suggest that the church has never been involved in any social protest, and this takes me to my third point. To see "the church" or even "the organised church" as a single entity ignores the truth that the church in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been a place of terrific contestation and struggles. Groups have broken away from the mainstream of the Church of Scotland and set up their own churches;

some have come back into the fold while others have remained on the outside (Free Church of Scotland). And Scotland has a long tradition of involvement in the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and many non-Conformist churches. The churches in Scotland have no essential unity on any subject - there is no all-powerful, all-controlling church in Scotland. This means that it has been perfectly possible for strong movements of social reform to have emerged at different points within different Scottish churches to challenge the status-quo and the churches' political neutrality - Thomas Chalmers' work in Glasgow in the 1820s¹⁷⁵ and the Christian Socialist movement of the late nineteenth /early twentieth century provide two striking examples.

The Christian Socialist movement is particularly interesting because it has been held to exacerbate the very process of secularisation which I have suggested it contradicts. Brown (1987)¹⁷⁶ claims that the Christian socialism of the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries assisted the secularisation of social policy by calling for the setting up of baby clinics, sociological investigations, homes for slum children etc - in other words, institutions which would be run by professionals, instead of needs being met by the church membership. Norman (1987) has a very different view of the same events. He suggests that the Christian socialists' response to social evils was religious rather than

political - that they self-consciously tried to "Christianise" socialism , ie to re-state Christian principles in terms relevant to contemporary social relations and problems.¹⁷⁷ Certainly Canon Laurie of Old St. Paul's in Edinburgh, a firm follower of the Oxford movement and Christian Socialism made no distinction between the secular and the sacred - both had to be seen together for either to have any validity.¹⁷⁸

So this takes me back to my starting point. If we cannot be sure about a time gone by when the church and religion held absolute control over private and public life, what can we say about the role of the church in private and public affairs today? Has our society been secularised to such an extent that religious observance is a minority pursuit for the few, while the rest of us pay for our secular therapy, work for revolutionary ends, or give up the search for meaning in life? I believe that this case-study provides excellent material for getting underneath the surface of these questions. We can see the contradictions, the complexities and the continuities which lead me to suggest that Christian ideas still play an important part in the social work task - though a re-formulated and re-defined part.

5.3 Setting the Scene : the Involvement of the Church in the NVA/Guild of Service

When a meeting was called in Edinburgh in the winter of 1911 to discuss the formation of a local branch of the NVA, fifteen clergymen saw it as their business to attend. The meeting was chaired by Rev. Robert J. Drummond, a well-known speaker and minister of the United Free Church of Scotland in Lothian Road, Edinburgh. At the end of the meeting, an Executive Committee was formed made up of eight women and nine men, four of whom were ministers. Over the next 40 years or so, ministers continued to play an important part in the running of the organisation. Although their numbers gradually reduced, they remained in key posts as committee chairmen, and right up until 1960, the Executive Committee was chaired by a minister, and meetings began and ended with a prayer. Since then, there has been almost no clerical presence on the committees. The one exception was that in 1986, the existing Executive Committee chairman, Alistair McGregor, became ordained as a Church of Scotland minister.

So what processes were at work here? Who were these ministers, and why did they disappear from NVA committee work? What does their presence and absence tell us about the religiosity of the social work discourse? The first statement we can make is that the ministers came from a cross-section of protestant churches in Edinburgh (Church of Scotland, United Free Church of Scotland, Free Church

of Scotland, and Scottish Episcopal Church.¹⁷⁹) Some of the ministers were ordinary clergymen concerned about issues of morality as they affected their own districts or parishes. Others were leading churchmen of their day - Moderators of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Principals of New College, Bishops of Edinburgh. Some would undoubtedly have been conservatives, driven by public disquiet about evil conduct and loosening morals in society. Others, again, were the radicals of their generation - men who highlighted the plight of the urban poor and worked to encourage the church to become actively involved in social action. Rev. Drummond and Canon Laurie exemplify this approach.¹⁸⁰

The picture of church participation in the NVA (Eastern Division) is however much more complex than my brief introduction may suggest. During the early years of the NVA, clergymen did indeed play a major part in the work of the organisation - sitting on committees, chairing public meetings, taking part in deputations, getting involved in practical activities as members of the Men's Committee, including investigating places of "immorality". But the turnover of Executive and General Committee members was very high at this time as the organisation sought to become established. Some clergymen who were initially attracted to the organisation withdrew their support, sending apologies to

meetings, or disappearing from the scene altogether, while others took up honorary posts within the agency, such as Vice-President. A few gave a commitment which was life-long. Canon Laurie worked for the NVA from its first meeting until his death in 1937, to be replaced as General Committee chairman by his successor at Old. St. Paul's, Rev. Peter Monie, who held this position for another eleven years.

From the beginning of the Second World War and right through to the 1950s, we can see a gradual reduction of all men, including ministers, from the NVA's (now called the Guild of Service) membership. The most active clergymen were those on the Executive Committee, but even here, their actual numbers were small and declining.¹⁸¹ From 1938 until 1947, only two out of the fourteen Executive Committee members were ministers - the rest were all women. This figure reduced to one from 1948 to 1960¹⁸²; and the Executive Committee became an all-woman committee until 1974 when the first man made a re-appearance, interestingly another minister.

From this we can see that although ministers did hold positions of authority within the NVA/Guild of Service right up until 1960, their numbers in reality were very small, particularly after the initial burst of enthusiasm which came along with the formation of the Eastern Division. The Scottish churches seem to have been

content to leave their ministers to play an individual, informal role in the organisation's work - it was clearly peripheral, rather than central to their concerns, particularly after the "white slave trade" panics of the 1910s had passed over.¹⁸³ The established church in England paralleled this attitude. Although the Archbishop of Canterbury chaired public meetings in 1912 pressing for the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill to be made law, there was never any formal connection between the NVA and the Church of England.

This is extremely important for understanding the shift which took place in this agency. Although a decline in the numbers of clergymen on committees may seem to indicate a decreasing influence of a Christian discourse in the organisation, in fact the Christian discourse within the agency was never held purely in the hands of the clergy. Instead, churches in Britain have always displayed a marked ambivalence towards the vigilance movement. Although the language of vigilance was defined in terms of Christian notions of sin and evil, justice and morality, the vigilance cause was never one which was given the whole-hearted support of the institution of the church.

Not only were the actual numbers of clergymen on committees small, but it is questionable whether they all saw themselves in a specifically religious role. For a

time it was conventional practice to have as many as possible clergy on committees of organisations - they brought respectability and authority to those organisations. Some ministers clearly made committee membership a full-time occupation, sitting on many different committees, and attending countless meetings. Brown (1987)¹⁸⁴ notes the presence of clergymen in the 1910s and 1920s on committees from everything from voluntary organisations to education boards and parish councils. Brown suggests that their continued presence in reality masked what he calls a "fundamental secularisation of operations and rationale."¹⁸⁵

In conclusion, "head-counts" of ministers do not tell us about the religiosity of organisations, or the influence of Christian ideas and values on the activities carried out by the organisation. To find out more about this, we have to turn to the work itself - to the actual practices and strategies adopted by the agency, as described in agency records and interviews with ex-workers, paid and unpaid.

5.4 Christian Discourse - Public and Private Morality

The 1918 Annual Report of the NVA (Eastern Division) records the chairman as saying that "the NVA was a safeguard for the women and children of our own country in those dangerous days and stood for the guardianship of

what were definite Christian ideals about the home and family."¹⁸⁶

The NVA grew out of a public outrage at the presumed sexual exploitation of young people - See Chapter Four : **Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement.** The NVA set its sights at preventing such exploitation, by means of legislation, education, and direct work on the streets, picking up young women and diverting them to "safe" places where they would be re-trained and prepared for new, more moral lives. The work of the NVA was therefore largely concerned with issues of public morality. And yet private morality was never far off the agenda, as the initial quotation illustrates. The whole basis of the public work was a fixed set of assumptions about private morality - what was considered to be "correct" sexual behaviour for men, women and children.

Weeks (1981)¹⁸⁷ suggests that the general moral framework of the 19th Century was unquestionably that of the Christian tradition. This provided the language within which morality (even the morality of non-believers) was articulated, and many of the formal practices which actually regulated sexual behaviour. Laws on incest provide an illustration of this "ecclesiastical regulation".¹⁸⁸

One of the NVA's first tasks was to press for the raising of the age of sexual consent. At one time, the organisation even campaigned for a raising of the age of consent to 21 years, though they were unsuccessful in this venture. What was being sought was an extension of childhood for young women - a lengthening of the period when they would be protected from sexual behaviour. Once adult, codes of sexual conduct were clear. Sex outwith marriage was never to be condoned - it was sinful. Men and women were expected to exercise restraint in their sexual behaviour, before and during marriage. The Bible and Christian teaching on morality and sin provided the legitimisation for the NVA's ideology.

Josephine Butler and other early NVA campaigners were very clear that they were the carriers of the true Christian message on morality - one which had been forgotten by the Church which was consistently unfaithful to Christ's teaching in its acceptance of the sexual double standard.¹⁸⁹ NVA activists made two demands - first, that women should not be condemned for behaviour excused in men ; and second, that all men and women should rise above themselves to attain sexual behaviour and morality thought to belong more commonly to women.¹⁹⁰

Ideas of Christian morality are most vividly illustrated in the "rescue work" of the 19th and into the 20th Centuries. Although the NVA in Edinburgh did not itself

run a rescue home, it referred women constantly to female penitentiaries and Magdelene asylums. (The Glasgow Division did have a residential unit for women.) Rescue work was built on the principle of religious teaching, solitary confinement, and hard labour, usually in the form of laundry work. Mahood (1990) suggests that the over-riding aim of the female penitentiaries which vigilance workers transported young women to and from was to replace deceit and pride with guilt.¹⁹¹ Their policy was that each inmate should receive her own Bible as soon as she had learnt to read. The scriptures would reveal the extent of the inmate's sin, defilement and guilt, and she would soon learn to accept herself as a "sinner". The Bible stories also taught a morality centred on self-sacrifice and duty :-

"through the Christian chain of command which paralleled the Victorian social-class hierarchy and which sanctioned female inferiority, self-abnegation and duty, each inmate learned her appropriate gender role and social-class position."¹⁹²

The 1868 Report of the Female Industrial Home at Corstorphine, Edinburgh illustrates this well. The secretary/treasurer begins his report :-

"Deliver him from going down to the pit; for I have found a ransom. Job XXXIII. 24.

Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost. Luke XV. 6.

Dear Friends, The Lord is here calling on us to do two things -

First, To aid Him in the deliverance of souls that are going down into the bottomless pit, for He has found a ransom. They need not perish.

Second, To rejoice with Him over His rescued ones."¹⁹³

The evangelical language used here seems very strange and very much from another time. But Bible lessons and the search for codes of morality in the scriptures remained a feature of social work intervention throughout this organisation's history. When Miss Stewart began a Sunday afternoon club for girls in the 1930s, Bible stories and prayer accompanied tea and conversation. Much more recently, children in Edzell Lodge Children's Home were encouraged to say "Grace" before meals and to pray daily, and were marched to Sunday school dressed in their smart "Sunday" clothes right up until the mid 1970s. Of course, we may choose to dismiss the significance of these religious observances, seeing them as meaningless anachronisms - habits left over from a by-gone day. Or we may see them as continuing concrete practices, neither accidental nor arbitrary, but in Foucault's words, "regulated by power and knowledge" - necessary activities for communicating certain bourgeois values (respect for elders and betters, gender roles, place in society) and a particular kind of sexual behaviour and morality.

Power is not however only about control and regulation in a negative sense. NVA records are not simply full of accounts of girls being forcibly taken against their will to institutions or domestic service. Some young women actively *chose* to go into a training institution which offered them an escape from an intolerable home situation, or training for future employment. In the institutions, they were taught to read and to sew, and they were free from unwanted harrassment by landlords, parents, or others. There are many examples of letters to the NVA workers from grateful women who appear to have wholly identified with the Christian regimes in which they found themselves.¹⁹⁴

Of course, it is impossible seventy years later to be certain about the actual status of these "thankyou" letters. Were the women induced to write them as a tactic/practice of the institution? Were the women lying, believing that it would be in their best interests to do so? Did the women suffer from a kind of "false consciousness", in effect brainwashed by the institution and incapable of independent thought? Or could it be that to a certain degree, the Christian principles of the institutions in fact mirrored/ corresponded to their own value-bases? Speaking about power and truth, Foucault states:-

"... truth isn't outside power or lacking in power ...
Each society has its regime of truth, its "general

politics" of truth : that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true ; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements ..."¹⁹⁵

I believe that the sincerity or otherwise of the grateful letters is less important than the general point that in them we can see the operation of Christian assumptions about sexual morality in practice - sexual morality is being created within the Christian discourse.

But there is another dimension here. Foucault argues that wherever there is power, there is resistance - resistance itself has an impact on the application of power. Throughout this agency's history, we can find illustrations of individual and collective resistance, leading to a gradual loosening of public condemnation of both illegitimacy and extra-marital sex.

NVA records are full of accounts of girls running away, leaving institutions, and never being traced again.¹⁹⁶ Women do not always do what the agency wants or expects them to do. Some return to their "former lives" (prostitution); many return to the agency with a second illegitimate pregnancy, in spite of the moral education they received the first time. But it is the struggle to change and finally to close Mother and Baby Homes in Scotland in the late 1960s and early 1970s which provides

a concrete example of the workings of resistance in relation to power.

Claremont Park (the Edinburgh Home for Mothers and Infants)¹⁹⁷ was a fairly typical Scottish Mother and Baby Home, and one to which the NVA/Guild of Service was principal referring agent. It opened in 1924, with the express aim of providing pre and post-confinement care for "unmarried girls who were expecting their first baby." The Home was run on familiar rescue home lines, with a strict regime which was a mixture of laundry work, housework, prayers in the Home's own Chapel, and of course baby care. A minimum stay of four months was rigidly enforced, because breastfeeding was taken for granted, and in order that "the girls might be morally reclaimed" :-

"We aim at nothing less than the rebuilding of character, so that out of what might have been one twisted life may grow the two straight purposeful lives of the mother and child."¹⁹⁸

And again :-

"... through this small Home comes a continual stream of those who instead of being left to slip down into the lowest depths of humanity, are being re-built in character and are given the chance of learning to live, not for themselves alone, but in service to God, their neighbours, to be in fact good citizens."¹⁹⁹

Claremont Park congratulated itself on its good relationships with its ex-inmates, some of whom returned each year for a reunion tea-party. But during and after the Second World War, resistance to the regime was growing. Women who were Guild of Service clients increasingly refused to go to Claremont Park, with its prayers, its enforced breastfeeding, and its pressure on women to keep their babies. As casework agencies like the Guild of Service began to champion the rights of children to grow up in two-parent families, campaigning agencies like the Scottish Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child pressed for the unmarried mothers' views to be taken into account in determining the services which they required.²⁰⁰ In 1958, the Guild of Service, unable to shift the management at Claremont Park, withdrew its support and the numbers in residence rapidly dwindled to only one in 1960. Claremont Park closed down, and was opened three years later with a new matron, and a new approach. Women now came to the Home largely prior to confinement - recreation and adoption replaced prayers in the Chapel and unwanted motherhood.

Questions of sexual morality have continued however to play a part in work with unmarried mothers. Some social workers who worked for the Guild of Service in the late 1960s have expressed a feeling of growing unease as the agency seemed to be moving towards a position of

acceptance of extra-marital sexual behaviour. More widely available contraception, abortion and greater tolerance of unmarried motherhood meant that social workers found themselves confronted with what they saw as a new set of problems. Some social workers and committee members have described an increasing gap between their own standards of private morality and those seeming to be condoned (and therefore perhaps even encouraged?) by the agency.

What is most significant is that the agency by this time no longer saw itself as in the business of trying to tackle either public or private morality and sexual behaviour. While Malcolm Muggeridge raised a furore in 1968 about the sale of condoms on the University campus, the Guild of Service stood back and took no part in the debates. Similarly, although the agency took a risk in the early 1970s and raised its head above the parapets to provide an abortion counselling service for women, this was not out of conviction that women had a right to decide what happened to their bodies. Instead, it was a familiar paternalistic response to women having abortions. The agency wanted to ensure that these women had considered their options carefully enough before proceeding with a termination. But abortion counselling was more than this. It also represented an increasing of the mechanisms of control through counselling - what Donzelot (1980) would include in the realm of the

"psy".²⁰¹ Social workers made recommendations to GPs about whether or not there were social grounds for an abortion to take place - this was not a neutral service.

In the 1980s, a very different wind blew into the agency, now called Family Care - a feminist strand which believed that women had the right to control their own sexuality. Social workers took positive steps to support this ideological stance - supporting women through abortions, providing pregnancy testing kits and contraceptives at the centre for women and children in Muirhouse (No.20), working closely with the Brook Advisory Centre. But acceptance of these new ideas was never total, and the old, moralistic discourse never disappeared completely. Some committee members continued to hold the view that chastity was better than sexual licence; and that the agency should be very careful in its support of women engaged in "immoral" behaviour, since supporting such behaviour was in fact part of the process of encouraging it.²⁰² (For more details of this and the abortion counselling service, see Chapter Eight : **Women and the Social Work Task**)

There have been two occasions in recent years when the agency has taken part in matters of public morality - both times in connection with the new moral issue of the day, human fertilisation and embryology. Janet Lusk, then Director, was invited to give evidence to the

Warnock committee on Human Fertilisation and Embryology which reported in 1984. Then when Kate Priestley was Director, she co-edited a book which was published by Family Care in 1987 named "Truth and the Child."²⁰³ Both Directors were keen to raise public awareness on this issue. Their position had little to do with Christian ideas of morality. In fact, Kate Priestley encountered opposition from some Christian committee members who felt that the organisation should not be seeming to encourage dubious activities such as surrogacy or donor insemination.²⁰⁴ Janet and Kate based their opinions firmly on professional social work expertise and practice - arguing for the importance of counselling as part of any new procedures, and for openness and honesty in practical arrangements.

Smart (1989)²⁰⁵ claims that the Warnock Committee's recommendations were more committed to the maintenance of the patriarchal, "natural" family than recent legislation in areas such as illegitimacy, adoption and divorce. The main strategies to be employed were licensing and counselling - all infertile couples should be entitled to a counselling service under the National Health Service. Although the N.H.S. has not yet set up such a service, Family Care has pioneered a counselling service since 1987 at the Western General Hospital's male infertility

clinic in Edinburgh. (Note the strong parallels here with abortion counselling.)

5.5 Christian Discourse - The Individual, Community and Service

Christian discourse has not simply been engaged in regulating sexual morality. It has also played a crucial role in determining what kind of society we live in - both our individual subjectivity and our relationship with our neighbours. In the social work discourse of this agency, we can see three interdependent Christian themes being acted out and negotiated with, in different ways at different points in history - that is, the individual, community and service.

The Individual

Henderson (1986)²⁰⁶ suggests that the nub of the Christian faith is that God saved the world by becoming human - "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." (John 3.16) As a result, each person is, in the words of Forrester and Skene (1988)²⁰⁷, of infinite value and equal before God.

Christianity's central concern with the individual formed the basis of early social work practice (as seen in the development of casework) and has been a recurring theme within social work ever since. Although the social work task has been broadened to include responsibility for helping families, groups and communities, BASW's first

statement of principles remains a commitment to the individual :-

"Basic to the profession of social work is the recognition of the value and dignity of every human being, irrespective of origin, race, status, sex, sexual orientation, age, disability, belief or contribution to society. The profession accepts a responsibility to encourage and facilitate the self-realisation of each individual person with due regard for the interest of others."²⁰⁸

Two immediate implications arise from this perspective. First, the individualising tendency has allowed Christian discourse to be interpreted on the whole, as an individual discourse - structural concerns such as poverty and unemployment are of secondary importance. (There are some notable exceptions, eg the Christian Socialist Movement, and more recently, Liberation Theology.) Second, although we may all be equal before God, in reality we are far from equal in the world, so we have a responsibility to help those less fortunate than ourselves - our "brothers" and "sisters" before God. Implicit in this idea of helping is an assumption that we know what other people need - that we want them somehow to become more like us :-

"Grasp the hand of the one you would rescue, and with him ascend the mountain, instead of standing like an inanimate and unsympathetic signpost on the plain

which you consider so unsafe for him. Love is the vehicle of all the medicines of Christ."²⁰⁹

There is a strong connection between the way the vigilance discourse and the professional social work discourse names and classifies its subjects. That link is the notion of a deficit or deficiency in the individual. The NVA saw its subjects not simply as poor, unemployed, economically disadvantaged women who turned to prostitution or illicit sexual behaviour for financial reasons. The NVA's subjects were instead "victims" - victims of sexual attack or victims of a lack of proper moral training²¹⁰. The clients of the Guild of Service caseworkers were victims too, but in a different sense. As psychodynamic ideas began to influence the work in the 1950s and 1960s, women with illegitimate pregnancies were seen as victims of early psychological or emotional damage, or victims of poor socialisation - but victims nonetheless. They were emotionally and psychologically deficient, not morally deficient. (See Donzelot's notion of "deficient families." (1980) He argues that deficient families were one of the three categories of problem targetted by the new psycho-analytic discourse which replaced the juridical discourse in relation to juvenile crime.²¹¹)

Foucault (1977)²¹² in "Discipline and Punish" argues that the link between old and new discourse is not simply on

the basis of the way religious and psychoanalytic discourses classify their subjects. He also finds continuities in the actual practices set up to control and regulate subjects - that is, the confessional and psychoanalysis. Certainly it is easy to see links between the vigilance era's desperate need to bring the "miserable sinner" to forgiveness through prayer and confession and the Christian churches' notions of confession and absolution. Newton (1956) describes early probation officers as "missionaries" intent to change behaviour through changing feeling, that is, through "conversion".²¹³ What might be less immediately apparent is the connection between this and the psychodynamic casework and later counselling which replaced the old vigilance activities. New methods of casework and counselling were held out to be very different from the old style - less judgemental/ moralistic/ "unprofessional", and more likely to be influenced by new concepts such as "client self-determination". And yet with both, the power differential still existed; the subject was still expected to explore her problem in depth; and the goal in each case was for the expert to bring about change in the individual through the process of penitence and absolution or self-examination and insight.²¹⁴

The "deficit" model also pervaded the work with illegitimate children. In common with the past, physical care was not seen as sufficient for children's well-being. But now medical/social needs replaced spiritual/moral needs as the major source of concern. The new push towards adoption reflected this perspective. Adoption was believed to be the best means of securing the emotional welfare of illegitimate children, since adoption provided children with a family which contained both a mother and a father, thought to be essential for children's normal psychological development.

But the Christian/psychological contestation did not stand still once adoption had become the preferred option. On the contrary, the adoption work illustrates one of the major sites of conflict between Christian and secular values in the agency's history - a conflict which resulted in the abandonment in the early 1960s of the demand that prospective adopters should be Christians with a "live church connection". Although this regulation had been fundamental to Miss Stewart, as the "greatest gift" she could give a child,²¹⁵ the new stress on individual differences and on approximating a "match" between child and adopters (in terms of physical appearance, intelligence, interests and abilities) meant that a general stipulation such as Christian background was out of favour. What had been a basic starting-point for Miss Stewart became one in a long list of ways of

dividing up and classifying potential adopters. But it did not work as a classificatory mechanism, because would-be adopters approached sympathetic ministers and asked for references even though they were not regular church-goers. The regulation was therefore, after much deliberation, abandoned.²¹⁶ Meanwhile, increasingly sophisticated psychological tests and medical predictions of life-expectancy were carried out by the new experts in the situation - the Psychiatric and Medical Advisers and the social workers themselves. (See Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

The Christian discourse has been so discredited within social work that there have been times when a Christian faith has been considered a definite disadvantage. Social workers considering couples for adoption have been very wary of those with strongly expressed religious beliefs, fearing that these might indicate an over-rigidity in outlook.²¹⁷ Likewise, one of the main criticisms emerging in the press of parents involved in the 1990 Orkney child sexual abuse scandal was the suggestion that they were fundamentalist in their approach to Christian beliefs.²¹⁸

Community

The Christian tradition offers more than simply an individualised perspective. Another central theme is community:-

"The only life worth living is life in fellowship,

fellowship with God and with one's neighbours ...

Christianity is centrally concerned with relationships and with community. Our relationship to God and our relationship to our fellows are regarded as inseparable from one another."²¹⁹

The notion of community is inseparable from ideas of service and charity - people are expected to have a mutual obligation towards each other, because "in as much as you have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, you have done it unto me." (Matthew 31.40)

The Christian churches' interpretations of the command to charity have been, and continue to be, many and varied. Timms (1970)²²⁰ describes mediaeval church teaching on almsgiving which advocated indiscriminate help to all those in need, as an antithesis of the nineteenth century Charity Organisation Society (COS) ideas which stressed the value of investigation of circumstances. Both believed that "doing good" would benefit the charity-giver : "Give and it will be given to you." (Luke 6. 38) But their ways of doing good were very different. Timms suggests that because the older Christian ideas of indiscriminate charity are irreconcilable with modern social work practice, the roots of modern social work are not to be found in Christian ideas and practices. I believe that he has missed the point here - Christian discourse is no more or less static than social work discourse, so that the casework of the COS was just as

founded on Christian principles as previous teaching on charity had been.

But there has been a more recent contestation over charity and the community within social work which we can see acted out within the Guild of Service's ambivalent attitude towards statutory social work. We can see evidence of a clash between those who viewed the community in terms of what might be described as a 19th Century model - the self-supporting Godly parish of Thomas Chalmers and his followers - and those who saw the community in a much wider sense - the state in effect had become the community, and taken over some functions on its behalf. Lady Learmonth exemplified the 19th Century Christian tradition. She had a vehement opposition to state social work on the grounds that it interfered with the community's obligation to look after its own members. Janet Lusk, herself a devout Christian, leant more to the Fabian socialist model, seeing a place for both voluntary and statutory social services in a mixed economy of welfare.²²¹

More recently, charitable ideas of community have been replaced within social work by a language of rights, advocacy and community self-determination which owe much more allegiance to Marxist ideas of structural inequality than to Christian charity. Jordan (1984)²²² suggests that the new awareness of the collective nature of

poverty and inequality, and the need for a socialist response, have undermined the older Christian notions of charity and service. But remnants of older themes remain. Family Care still receives gifts at Christmas time to be distributed to needy children; and Family Care social workers still write "begging letters" on behalf of hundreds of single parents each year to the many charitable trusts which give out money and essential items to good causes. (And one of these trusts, the Buttle Trust, will only give aid to Christian families.)

Service

Christian discourse teaches that in giving service to others, people are serving God. The call to service is made explicit with the words "For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve." (Mark 10.45)

We can see the Christian perspective on service most clearly in the social workers' and committee members' descriptions of their work. Both Miss Stewart (Organising Secretary from 1929 to 1954) and Miss Downing (Children's Home matron from 1947 to 1960) have described to me their work as a "calling" - a form of missionary vocation from God. The notion of vocation carries with it a number of implicit assumptions - an expectation that hours worked will be high, and related to perceived need rather than payment for a specific job. We can find many examples of this - Miss Stewart visited a potentially suicidal young woman late each evening to administer to

her one sleeping tablet²²³ ; Miss Stewart and her loyal supporters staffed the church halls at night each autumn for eight consecutive years to provide accommodation for sailors from the Home Fleet based at South Queensferry ; Miss Downing made no distinction between "on" and "off-duty" hours in her life with the children in the children's homes. Miss Stewart believed that her work was carried out on behalf of God - as she said to me, "in all ways acknowledge Him and He shall direct your paths."²²⁴ Likewise Miss Downing prayed for guidance before accepting the job in Edinburgh, and saw her work as "God's work".²²⁵

Even the agency's name reflected the importance of service. From 1941 until 1978 the agency was known as the Guild of Service - first the Guild of Service for Women (that is, service for women, by women) and later simply the Guild of Service.

In 1957, the Guild of Service broke with tradition and appointed its first non-practising Christian as Director, valuing her professional skills and experience over her religious views. This does not imply that Christian values were no longer important - simply that they were no longer the prime consideration in making such an appointment. "Professional" power and knowledge was overtaking Christian power and knowledge as the principal discourse within the agency.²²⁶

From here on, we can see the continuing conflict between the professional and the Christian discourse. Social work struggled to assert itself as a professional occupation - social workers strove to achieve professional recognition and a salary comparable with other professional agents. Notions of vocation and service were seen as contradictory to this end, and were therefore underplayed in the social work discourse. A growing distance emerged between social workers who were paid to work fixed hours, and committee members who gave their time voluntarily. Committee members have expressed to me resentment at the social workers' seeming reluctance to give anything extra. Agency fundraising illustrates this point. Whereas social workers in the past had been happy to work alongside committee members on fundraising pursuits, professional social workers saw this as outside their remit.²²⁷ (See Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work.**)

Although notions of service may have been overtaken by the professional social work discourse, they did not disappear. A great many staff and committee members whom I have interviewed continued privately to see their work as Christian service. And non-Christians too have described the impulse to service in the humanitarian tradition. Yelloly (1975)²²⁸ suggests that in the first

half of the 20th Century, the concept of charitable service based on duty and paternalistic, class-bound relationships gave way to that of social service - service given by individuals on the basis of their shared citizenship, while at the same time societal and legislative change was expected to make things better for all.

Service, whether of the charitable or social kind, has had a particularly strong message for women. Miller (1983) points out that serving others is a basic principle around which women's lives are organised. Girls are taught that their main goal is to serve others - first men, and later children - and the result of this upbringing is that women feel compelled "to translate their own motivations into a means of serving others."²²⁹ This implies that even where women are actually working for their own reasons - for financial remuneration, for career development, for social reasons, or for intellectual stimulation - they may re-interpret and re-name this work in terms of service. Borrowdale (1989)²³⁰ criticises the "unhelpful choice" offered to women in Christian literature between attention to their own needs (which is seen as sinful self-love) and the service of others (which is held to be responsive and beautiful.) Here we can see Christian literature and upbringing impacting on, and serving to maintain, one another.

Gilligan (1987) picks up the question of women's upbringing in Woman's Place in Man's Life Cycle.²³¹ Here she examines the question of sex differences and the differential psychological development of men and women. She concludes that because girls are brought up by those of the same sex, their identification with their carers is much more total than for boys. Girls grow up to define themselves in a context of human relationships, and to judge themselves in terms of their ability to care for others. Both these qualities have been devalued by men and male psychologists, who lay far greater stress on the moral achievements of the development of individual autonomy and a sense of fairness and "rights".

It is interesting to speculate that professional social work's rejection of the notion of service in preference for an attitude of professional distance and client self-determination may be connected with the increasing numbers of men taking over positions of power and authority within social work. (Chapters Six and Eight will both touch on this theme of the masculinisation of social work.) Notions of service are rarely on the public agenda today in social work practice - a recently published book on social work values makes no mention of Christian values or service.²³² And yet the evidence of my interviews tells me that service has remained very much alive in the private motivations and rationale of paid and unpaid workers alike.

5.6 Christian Discourse and the Social Work Task Today

So how far can we see evidence of the Christian discourse in social work today? What part do Christian ideals and practices play in the formulation of the social work task in the 1990s?

These are extremely interesting, and yet almost impossible questions to answer, given the complex inter-related nature of beliefs and practices, values and attitudes in social work. In my own research project, I asked all the respondents whether or not they believed in God, and whether they felt that their personal beliefs had influenced their social work practice in any way. Results displayed a wide spectrum from those who defined themselves as practising Christians, to those who called themselves humanists, agnostics, aetheists, feminists and marxists, or a mixture of some of these. (Family Care has never employed anyone from a different faith, so I was unable to draw any cross-faith comparisons.) What emerged most clearly was that even in cases of respondents who were not now Christians, almost all had been brought up in strongly Christian families, often with a father who was a priest/minister or a parent who held a position of responsibility in a church, as an elder or vestry-member. There was no significant difference between committee members and social workers here. Very simply, almost all of those interviewed could

explain their reasons for coming into social work as being related to early Christian teaching and upbringing.

This was a fundamental point of discovery for me, and one which I found very unsettling. I recognised that my own reasons for becoming a social worker were no distance away from those of my respondents who talked to me about the importance of "service", "working for others" and "giving something back". Brought up by a devout Christian (Scottish Episcopalian) mother, and having two sisters, these were very familiar childhood themes - from Brownies, Girl Guides, Sunday School, church choir, as well as from home. Although I had rejected Christianity as an adolescent, I had nevertheless gone into social work - and nineteen years of rationalist, marxist atheism since then had done nothing to dissolve my strong connections with the women I interviewed. I found myself not only hearing the stories of other women, but also being faced with my own story at the same time.

Accepting that Christian background may be an important factor in the decision to come into social work (at least to come to work in a voluntary organisation like Family Care), what impact does Christian discourse have on the actual day-to-day practice of social work? I would argue that because the task of social work has been reframed in the language of professional/bureaucratic/administrative concerns, it is difficult to see evidence of Christian

ideology in mainstream social work practice. What the professionalisation of social work did was to largely outlaw older Christian explanations for, and solutions to social problems. (See Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work.**) A recent study by Ashford and Timms (1990)²³³ reinforces this analysis. They found in their study of two statutory and four voluntary agencies carrying out family placement work that there were no differences in actual practice between different agencies, even though there were significant differences between agencies in terms of the religious beliefs expressed by their social workers. They conclude that first and foremost, family placement is a "professionally governed enterprise."

Christians in social work have not however been content to stand back from the ideological battle-ground which is the social work task. The Social Workers' Christian Fellowship was founded in 1964 with the specific aims of promoting the Christian discourse within social work. The Fellowship's declared objective is not to evangelise with social work clients. Instead, the stress is on supporting Christian social workers and pressing the adoption of Christian principles within professional social work practice.²³⁴

Specific projects have been set up as examples of Christian social work programmes, for example, the

Southdown Community Project in Easterhouse, Glasgow, sponsored by the Church of England Children's Society, and led by Bob Holman. He outlines the necessary features in a Christian approach to social work - serving others (being ready to listen, being available, doing practical, useful tasks for others); making a commitment to local involvement as a means of promoting oneness and togetherness; working co-operatively without hierarchical structures and job demarcation.²³⁵ Interestingly, the part of Family Care which most resembles Bob Holman's picture of a Christian project is No. 20, Family Care's centre for women and children in Muirhouse. The underlying principles which determine No. 20's practice are not Christian ones, but feminist ones. But both projects involve a rejection of some of the principle tenets of professional social work - professional distance, professional expertise, and professional power.

Social work in the voluntary sector in Scotland today remains very much in the hands of Christian churches and organisations, even when these agencies choose to play down their Christian connections. It is the Church of Scotland, the Catholic Church, the Episcopal church and the Salvation Army which carries out most of the work with destitute and homeless people in Scotland today, as well as substantial provision for the elderly and projects which work with "outcast" groups such as prostitutes, drug-addicts and alcoholics. In some of

these settings, pockets of missionary zeal remain - for example, the spiritual healing which is part-and-parcel of an Edinburgh alcohol rehabilitation project.

5.7 Summary

To re-cap on the predominant themes in this chapter, I have argued that Christian discourse (itself in a constant process of change and negotiation) has played a very important part in shaping and defining the terms of reference of the social work task. Certainly, Family Care has moved a long way from the days when social workers prayed with their clients²³⁶, or described the agency's good fortunes in terms of miracles from God.²³⁷ But there is a sense in which a change in the language of discourse did not necessarily imply a change in the discourse itself. The language may have changed, but the older themes - about sexual morality and the place of women, about the individual, community and service - remained and became incorporated (alongside other socialist, psychodynamic, and pluralist notions) into the melting-pot of ideas and practices which we today call social work. By looking at social work today, we can see some of the same battles re-enacted - battles about how welfare should be best provided; about the continuing usefulness of categories such as "moral danger"²³⁸; about what kind of profession we wish to belong to (for example, the current debates about the proposals to form a General Council for Social Work.)

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I have also argued that since Christian discourse is inevitably changing and being re-formed at the same time as social work is, a "catch-all" concept such as secularisation must be treated with caution. Nevertheless, there has indeed been a secularising of the social work task, even within this agency, built as it was on strongly Christian foundations. The Christian perspective was not lost completely. It continued to exist in the personal beliefs and motivations of individual social workers and committee members, but disappeared from the formal organisation and professional activities.²³⁹ Christian ideas and practices were effectively silenced by the new professional/psychodynamic discourse and went underground; in the words of the secularisation story, they were "privatised."

This is not to claim that Christian ideas and practices have been silenced for ever. I have argued that the Christian discourse remains in the knowledge-base and practices particularly of voluntary social work agencies, and may currently be undergoing something of a revival in social work, with a new generation of Christian social workers prepared to argue their case and work to see that Christian insights and ideas remain on the social work agenda.

I leave the last words in this chapter to Michel

Foucault (1972) :-

"To say that one discursive formation is substituted for another is not to say that a whole world of absolutely new objects, enunciations, concepts, and theoretical choices emerges fully armed and fully organised in a text that will place that world once and for all; it is to say that a general transformation of relations has occurred, but that it does not necessarily alter all the elements ; it is to say that statements are governed by new rules of formation ; it is not to say that all objects or concepts, all enunciations or all theoretical choices disappear."²⁴⁰

CHAPTER SIX

THE PROFESSIONALISATION OF SOCIAL WORK

6.1 Introduction

The period 1930s to 1960s is widely accepted to be the time when social work became professionalised. (See Yelloly, 1980 ; Walton, 1975.²⁴¹) This was the time when social work abandoned its old, moralistic and philanthropic connections, and instead donned the garb of scientific expertise and quasi-medical knowledge. There was an explosion in training opportunities in all branches of social work, and psychology and psychoanalysis really took a hold for the first time in the British context. This was also the time when public attention was focused on children in a way that it had not been before - through the work of Anna Freud and Melanie Klein into child development ; John Bowlby's studies on the mental health of children and the importance of loss and separation ; because of the impact of World War Two, and questions being raised about residential nurseries and the effects of evacuation and family breakdown ; finally, because of the widely-publicised death of a boy in state foster-care in 1945.²⁴² This new child-centred approach was enshrined in legislation which made the state responsible for the welfare of all children.²⁴³

This chapter will concentrate on the general transformation which is called professionalisation.

Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?** will examine one aspect of that transformation by exploring the new knowledge-base which was a pre-requisite of the professionalisation process, that is, the fore-fronting of ideas and theoretical perspectives which owed allegiance to a psychological/psycho-analytic paradigm.

The professionalisation of social work at Family Care serves as a useful illustration of the process of professionalisation as it took place within social work as a whole. This process was not a linear one in which there was broad agreement amongst social workers about the future style and organisation of social work. Neither was it something which happened from without - social workers being given the status of professionals because the occupation automatically deserved that recognition. Instead it was an arena of contestation and negotiation within and outwith social work, reinforced by legislation and government reports which gave public backing to particular emerging views of social work. For those who wished to "professionalise" social work, new theories, skills and expertise specific to social work had to be carved out, and there had to be an agreed way of separating out the enthusiastic amateurs from the true professionals. Those in helping professions outwith social work, particularly those in the medical profession, fought hard to hold onto their own spheres of

influence in the face of the challenges from the new social work professionals.

The tensions, contradictions and debates which have characterised the professionalisation of social work can be illustrated in the battle for hegemony in Family Care. Specifically, what we can see are deliberate attempts by a new generation of social workers to professionalise what they saw as a very dedicated, but non-professional service, and to build professional links to safeguard standards of practice, and to protect their own professional status.

6.2 Definitions - (i) The Nature of Professions

The question of what constitutes a profession has received much academic attention. Some sociologists have adopted an absolute approach which defines occupations straightforwardly as professional or non-professional, depending on how they match up to the traditional professions of law, medicine and the ministry (cf Flexner, 1915 ; Greenwood, 1957 ; Wilkensi, 1964) Other sociologists prefer a more relative approach, placing different occupations at various points along a continuum from professional to non-professional (cf Carr-Saunders, 1965 ; Etzioni, 1966 ; Toren, 1972) Which ever is the case, all these attempts rely on a scheme of categorisation of the essential ingredients which must be present for an occupation to be held to be professional.

Typically these include specialist knowledge and skills, a recognised body of theory, the existence of a professional association, restrictions on entry and the necessity of a period of training. There is disagreement about the relative weight to be given to each of these characteristics, and disagreement about where different occupations should be placed on the occupational scale.

Social work has been variously described as professional, semi-professional and non-professional; a new, aspiring, emergent, or personal service profession. Addressing a conference of social workers in 1915, Flexner²⁴⁴

identified six specific criteria which must be met for an occupation to be given professional status. These were -

1. Professions are essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility ;
2. They derive their raw material from science and learning ;
3. This material is worked up to a practical and clear-cut end ;
4. Professions possess an educationally communicable technique ;
5. They tend to self-organisation ;
6. They become increasingly altruistic in motivation.

After evaluating whether social work met these criteria, Flexner concluded that social work had not yet become a

profession, since it was not "essentially intellectual" an activity, and since it relied on "knowledge or experience that is generally available." His admonishment to social workers was, "Go forth and build thyself a profession."

There have been many attempts since then to categorise social work, all of which rely on a similar formula to Flexner. Carr-Saunders (1965)²⁴⁵ defines social work as semi-professional, because he claims that technical skill is inevitably more important than theoretical study to social workers. Toren (1972)²⁴⁶ accepts his categorisation. She believes that social work has not yet achieved professionalism across-the-board. Its techniques and skills are already professional, but its theory is still to a large extent drawn from experience and personal intuition. Greenwood (1957)²⁴⁷ claims that social work is already a profession. For him, there are too many points of congruence with the model of a profession for it to be otherwise. He sees the internal disputes within and around social work as being related to social work's attempts to upgrade its professional status, to rise in the professional hierarchy, rather than to professionalise itself as others have suggested. Younghusband (1981)²⁴⁸ describes social work as the "newest profession", suggesting that it has reached its goal now that it has a recognised body of knowledge and

skills, and a professional organisation and unified training.

The debate about social work's professional status is an unending one about which there can never be a definitive answer : for every person who argues that social work is a profession, we can find someone else who argues the opposite. And we can see individuals wavering over their own categorisation-schemes too. After laying down six fixed criteria for what made a profession, Flexner qualified his views at the end of his presentation by suggesting that the professional spirit and unselfish devotion can lift social work above all this.

Flexner's change of heart relates to a key factor in the "profession/professional" debate. The terms "profession" and "professional" are not value-free and neutral, but on the contrary, carry with them special privileges, status and power. "Professional" work is viewed as worthy of merit and carries with it higher social standing; "unprofessional", or "non-professional" work is somehow sub-standard, inferior, and carried out by people of less ability or lower social-class. Becker (1962)249 describes the notion of a "professional" as a status symbol, used by different people for different purposes. It is a term "of invidious comparison and moral evaluation". Illich (1977)250 takes up this theme. He argues that professional power is a specialised form of

the privilege to prescribe - "it is the power of prescription that gives control within the industrial state. Professionals tell you what you need and claim the power to prescribe." It is not surprising that the middle-class women engaged in social work aspired to professional status and professional control.

(ii) The Process of Professionalisation

As with studies which have examined the nature of professions, there have been many attempts to delineate the process of professionalisation - to explain the manner it routinely occurs and what we may expect in the way of stages of development. Wilenski (1964)²⁵¹ outlines five main stages in the professionalisation process of occupations in the United States.

1. A new occupational group emerges, engaged in full-time, non-manual work on a particular set of problems;
2. Training and selection procedures are set up ;
3. A professional association is formed ;
4. The occupation agitates for public support ;
5. A code of ethics is elaborated.

Elliott (1972)²⁵² reworks this, claiming that there are four stages in the professionalisation of social work, and that each may lead to changes not only in the formal structure of the occupation, but also in the occupation's means and goals. Elliott's first stage involves the identification of a social need and the coming-together of workers to meet that need. In stage two, he asserts

that this new occupational group will open new career opportunities for others not initially in the picture. In stage three, qualifications are laid down and entry routes institutionalised. By stage four, the institutionalisation of career routes means that goals other than good intentions loom larger - the initial goals of the leader are replaced by others, more relevant to the survival of the institution.

The idea that professionalisation can best be understood as a recognisable process is a very attractive one. It seems to make sense that there will be a natural progression, while accepting that some occupations may go about the process in a different chronological order. Wilenski has been criticised for presenting a model which is historically and culturally specific rather than applicable in all cases. I am sure that this is true. But I think that what is much more important is that the model accepts uncritically that something called a "profession" exists, and that it is therefore possible to chart its progress irrespective of the political and historical context. As I have said, the professionalisation of social work did not happen automatically or even incrementally. It was fought for and by a group of people who had vested interests in upgrading their status in society, a group largely made up of middle-class women.

6.3 The Context - Class and Gender in the Professionalisation of Social Work

Johnson (1972)²⁵³ proposes that an analysis of the professions must take into account macro-issues such as the social division of labour and power, instead of the minutiae of the culturally and historically specific micro-analyses which have been given so much attention. He suggests that we must look at the implications of the growth of the professional on the changing distribution of power in industrial societies. The professionalisation of social work is important because it is part of the process of the rise to power of an urban middle class at the end of the nineteenth/beginning of the twentieth centuries. More explicitly however, it must be understood in the context of the demands of women for an increased role in the public domain, and a greater recognition of the value of their work.

Parry and Parry (1979)²⁵⁴ take this point further. They examine the formation of women's occupations in the nineteenth century - occupations such as nursing and almoning (medical social work), which were committed to professional training and some degree of self-management, and which modelled themselves on the values of professionalism which they shared with the men of their social class. Teaching serves as another illustration. Almoning is of special significance, because the new medical social workers were determined to establish

themselves at one step removed from nurses, whose position they saw as subordinate to that of doctors. They identified that to achieve a better place in the hierarchy, they would need to develop professional skill and technique - casework was to be their weapon.²⁵⁵

Witz (1990)²⁵⁶ offers a comprehensive analysis of the dual nature of class and gendered dynamics at work in the professionalisation process. She argues that the generic notion "profession" is inevitably a gendered notion because "it takes what are the successful projects of class-privileged male actors at a particular point in history and in particular societies to be the paradigmatic case of profession." She concludes that professionalisation can only be understood as a strategy of occupational closure - a series of tactics to keep others out - and must be explored in the context of the structural and historical parameters of patriarchal capitalism.

In the case-study of Family Care, the leadership and drive in the organisation has come almost totally from middle-class women, from its beginnings to the present-day, as directors, committee members, and staff. (See Chapter Eight : **Women and the Social Work Task**) In their push to professionalise their work, they were simply seeking to achieve the same status and recognition in their occupational lives as they expected to receive in

their private lives. The means to achieving this end was to make a distinction between themselves and all those others who were involved in social work - untrained welfare workers and ex-Poor Law personnel, volunteers, and ordinary citizens who were caring for relatives in the community.

This echoes a theme raised by Johnson (1972) in his earlier work in which he suggests that professionalism is best understood as a "peculiar type of occupational control" rather than an expression of the inherent nature of certain occupations. He later refines this position.²⁵⁷ He identifies that the kind of occupational control or professionalism which an occupation achieves is necessarily related to the requirements of capital. In terms of social work, then, what is most significant about its professional status is the increasing absorption of social work activity into the welfare state. It is the state which defines need and the manner in which it shall be met, and which guarantees clients for the social worker :-

"The client of the probation officer (or social worker) is then *produced* and guaranteed by the workings of the system of justice".²⁵⁸

The clients of a voluntary organisation might not be thought to have such a symbiotic relationship with the state. Voluntary social work agencies have always prided

themselves on their ability to act independently and to initiate unhampered by state control. However, one of features of the professionalisation process has been an increasing convergence between different social work activities - voluntary and statutory social work are both governed by a host of statutes and legislation which define the nature of the work and how it should be carried out. At the same time, the state (local and central government) has become a major funder of voluntary enterprise, greatly eroding the voluntary sector's capacity for pioneering work and individual initiative. Voluntary agencies have found themselves increasingly in the role of supplementing statutory services - of "gap-filling." (See Kramer (1981)²⁵⁹ and Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

Donzelot (1980)²⁶⁰ sets this in the context of the emergence during the nineteenth century of a new "space of knowledge" which he calls the realm of "the social." As noted earlier, he suggests that a transition took place from a government of families to a government *through* the family ; a shift from coercive and punishment-oriented models of social control to a system of "policing " of families which relies on the new "psy" professions to be its executives - doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, health visitors, and of course, social workers. The policing of families can be evidenced in a host of new regulations and practices

concerning the care of children - the establishment of antenatal and postnatal care; of free school meals and school medical inspections; of educational and health service clinics; of health visiting and social work services; of rules governing a range of subjects including adoption, boarding-out of children, and residential homes for children. This is not policing in a narrow, repressive sense, or relating only to the requirements of capital. (cf Johnston, 1977)²⁶¹ Instead it is a way of encompassing all the practices which together unite to control and regulate our lives. (cf Foucault, 1977, on power.)²⁶²

I have suggested in Chapters Four and Five that Family Care moved away from vigilance work and social purity/moralistic/Christian discourses in favour of a brand of social work which the agency described as professional casework. I will argue that this shift illustrates very well changes taking place across the board in social work settings. Whether or not we believe that social work is actually a profession, and whatever we accept as the essential stages in professionalisation, the fact remains that the social work task has changed profoundly over the period of Family Care's life. Drawing on Foucault's methodology, the crucial questions are not "what is a profession?", or "what is the process of professionalisation?" We should ask rather, why did the change happen now?; who is in charge of the new

discourse?; how is it that this speaker and this discourse "derives its legitimate source and point of application - its specific objects and instruments of verification?"²⁶³

Foucault argues that what is important to discourse analysis is to "...restore to the statement the specificity of its occurrence"²⁶⁴. This takes me back to the beginning of this chapter. The professionalisation of social work did not happen in an easy, unproblematic way. There were struggles within and outwith social work, and the social work task we have today reflects the nature of the winners and the losers, as well as the compromises made along the way.

6.4 The NVA and Social Work

Before going on to explore the changes which took place within Family Care and which may be described as the professionalisation of social work, I would like to recap on some of the themes presented in Chapters Four and Five.

When this agency began as the NVA in 1911, and more particularly when its parent-organisation began in 1885, this was not what we might today regard as a social work agency. Something which might be described as social work took place in the support-work which was carried out with stranded and vulnerable young women. But the

primary focus in the agency's work was its campaigning work - campaigning for a transformation in sexual relations between men, women and children.

NVA staff and committee members in Edinburgh displayed a marked ambivalence to their involvement in "social work" at this time. This is evident from the publications they chose to subscribe to (vigilance, not social work magazines), and the conferences they chose to attend. In 1914 two delegates were sent to an International Abolitionist Conference in Portsmouth (on the white slave trade), while no-one attended the Congress in Social Work and Social Service in London.²⁶⁵ However in 1923, when the warden from a rescue workers' training school in London came to Edinburgh to talk on "modern methods of social work, bringing in Vigilance work", the local NVA sponsored and supervised the event.²⁶⁶ Vigilance work was clearly seen as part of social work, just as social work was part of vigilance work.

This raises a much wider question - what was "social work" at the beginning of the twentieth century? The answer is that social work was anything and everything, from the casework of the Charity Organisation Society, to the social reform-based settlement movement, to the institutional and non-institutional care provided by a large number of Poor Law and philanthropic organisations. Most social work was provided by voluntary agencies. We

can see the beginnings of statutory intervention around this time, but the majority of social care was still in the hands of voluntary organisations, and carried out, on the whole, by middle-class women and some men. (See Prochaska, 1980 and Jordan, 1984,²⁶⁷ and Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

What we see happening in the first half of the twentieth century is the narrowing of the task of social work - social work gave up its claim to be a social movement and chose to concentrate instead on social casework with individuals and families. The decline of the vigilance cause can be seen as part of this general shift away from changing society to changing individuals. Seed (1973)²⁶⁸ asserts that social work as a social movement after the Second World War was "a pale shadow of the old movement at the end of the nineteenth century, with its vast claim then to the formula for social advance." He concludes :- "The hopes of those who wished to see a better society turned to political movements."

Foucault reminds us that changes in the "rules of formation" of discourses are not arbitrary or accidental - "they operate in a realm which has its own configuration and which consequently does not offer limitless possibilities of modification."²⁶⁹ That realm was the professionalisation of social work, during which new limits were set about what could and could not be

social work; who could and could not carry it out; and what its strategies and solutions could, and could not be. This was not, therefore, a simple matter in the NVA (Eastern Division) of a transformation from an unprofessional to a professional agency. Instead, what we are witnessing is the battle-ground which was the professionalisation of the social work task.

6.5 The NVA and Professionalism

The organisation which was set up in Edinburgh in 1911 was from the outset an organisation which saw itself as professional. Two major factors distinguished the NVA (Eastern Division) as a professional agency. First, the staff were expected to be trained, and second, the membership of committees was of a high calibre. Payment for work was not at this time a crucial determining factor. Although employees tended to be paid, there were times in the agency's history when funds were so tight, that workers worked without pay.²⁷⁰ This illustrates a common phenomenon in social work then. Because there were no grants for training, only women of independent means, or those with supportive parents, could begin to think about full-time training. Once qualified, they could choose to work in voluntary or statutory agencies, where they might be paid or unpaid. Walton (1975)²⁷¹ suggests that at this time there was no devaluing of voluntary work as against paid, "professional" work - this was to come later.

In common with the NVA nationally, therefore, local NVA staff were expected to have a relevant training in vigilance or rescue work. The first outdoor worker appointed by the NVA (Eastern Division) in 1912 was Miss Taylor, trained at St Agnes House in London.²⁷² The work which she was trained in was vigilance or "rescue" work, bearing more similarities with police-work than with what we might think of as social work. Training included practical, on-the-spot guidance about how to approach people on the streets, how to avoid getting assaulted, what religious/Biblical texts to draw on in working with cases. There was also some elementary social science, and a firm grounding in Christian ethics and ideology.²⁷³ Because the work centred on questions of morality, this was believed to be the most fundamental part of the training. St. Agnes House was not only a centre for student training, it was also the central house of the Order of Divine Compassion, an Order of women who devoted their lives to rescue work. (See Chapter Five : **Secularisation and Social Work** for a fuller account of the changing influence of Christian explanations for, and solutions towards social problems.)

While employees were expected to be trained, leadership and direction was expected to come from the committee members. There was a clear demarcation of roles between voluntary committee members who made policy decisions and

attended conferences, and the paid employees who were there to be instructed in their duties. Staff titles reflected this power balance. Employees were first known as outdoor "workers" (they literally carried out the work); while later employees became "organising secretaries" (they serviced the committees.)

There are strong parallels here with the management of other voluntary agencies, for example the Charity Organisation Society. The COS was founded and run by middle and upper-class beneficiaries, while paid workers were drawn from the "superior sort" of working men.²⁷⁴

All policy matters and decision-making about staffing, structure, fundraising and use of resources in the NVA was the responsibility of the Executive Committee which met monthly, and the much larger General Committee which met less frequently but had ultimate responsibility for major decisions. The men and women who were on both committees, and sometimes also on the Ladies Committee (which oversaw the work with young women), played a significant role in the running of the organisation. They might take part in deputations, attend conferences, draft letters and resolutions on vigilance matters, local and national. Committee members also played a limited part in the outdoor work. They helped in the office when funds were scarce. At other times, special groupings were formed to tackle specific pieces of work.²⁷⁵

The NVA's approach to professionalism is evident in its support for paid police-women. During the First World War, voluntary "women patrols" operated on the streets and in the stations, supported by, and strengthening the work of the NVA outdoor workers. While being prepared to work alongside these untrained workers because of the exigencies of war, the NVA locally and nationally played a vociferous part in the campaign for the establishment of permanent paid police-women. In Edinburgh the NVA took this one step further after the war by actually paying the wages of two "women police" (as they were then called) for ten months in 1919. They hoped that by proving the usefulness of women police in practice, the local council would be persuaded to accept the need for them, and make them part of the police establishment. Further to this, during World War Two the Executive committee argued against the re-establishment of voluntary women patrols in Edinburgh, on the grounds that they were "non-trained".²⁷⁶

Another example of the agency defining its professional boundaries is seen in 1923. When the Council of Social Service invited the NVA and other voluntary bodies to join them on a case committee to discuss the management of "more permanent rescue cases", the NVA declined.²⁷⁷ They were concerned about confidentiality, and stated that this kind of work should only be undertaken by

trained rescue workers. (Such sentiments would be very familiar to "professional" social workers today.)

6.6 The Professionalisation of Social Work

A simple way of analysing the professionalisation of social work in Family Care is to examine the process chronologically in terms of the three stages. In Stage One, vigilance campaigning and street patrolling gradually gave way to what can be defined as "moral welfare", and children increasingly became a major focus of concern. This stage roughly follows the period when Miss Kay Stewart was Organising Secretary, from 1929 to 1954. Stage Two marks the appearance of a very different kind of social work in the agency, as Dr Alexina McWhinnie (Director, 1957 to 1962) set out to "professionalise the service". Stage Three represents another shift. While social work continued to consolidate its professional status through professional associations and the emergence of generic social work, professional social work was under attack from new radical ideas which challenged its hegemony, and from a series of child abuse tragedies which questioned social work's ability to live up to its promises and its expectations. This period co-incides with the Directorship of Miss Janet Lusk, from 1962 to 1984.

To examine the transformation according to the periods of leadership of the Directors does not, of course, imply

that I believe that all the changes were directly attributable to these three figures. On the contrary, they were all a part of, and illustrative of the continuum of controversy and debate around professionalisation, that is, they were a part of the discourse around professionalisation. Foucault (1972)²⁷⁸ reminds us that certain individuals give particular perspectives a sharp formulation at particular points in time - they gather together threads already available in the "space of knowledge". The new "space of knowledge" which was moulding professional social work was a whole melting-pot of theoretical concepts, legislation and changing attitudes towards the role of the state in intervening in people's lives.

(i) Stage One - Moral Welfare replaces Vigilance and Policing

During Miss Stewart's long association with Family Care (at first called the NVA, then after 1941, the Guild of Service for Women)²⁷⁹ we can identify a gradual shift away from old concerns and issues towards a re-formulation of the task of social work. This does not imply that everything shifted all at once (it did not) or that there was no continuity (which there clearly was.) Miss Stewart acted as a bridge between the old and the new - between the old, moralistic discourses and the new "professional" ideas.

Miss Kay Stewart's appointment to the post of Organising Secretary at the NVA in 1929 marked a turning-point in the history of the agency. Although her father had been a missionary, Miss Stewart had not been trained in rescue work, and instead was a graduate of the new Social Studies course at Edinburgh University. This means that although her personal values were steeped in Christian tradition, her training was much broader than traditional rescue work training - she had studied everything from political economy to social history and social administration, and had a different concept of poverty, need, and the legitimate role of the helping organisations. The model adopted on social studies courses laid great stress on the importance of the social environment - the social worker's task was to carry out an investigation of the social circumstances within which the individual was living, and make the necessary adjustments in the social environment to fit the individual. MacAdam (1945) urged that fundamental problems "can only be solved by the faithful, patient, disciplined study of each individual difficulty."²⁸⁰

Soon after being appointed, Kay Stewart described her approach to the casework of the agency :-

"Before passing on any case to the appropriate Rescue Home or shelter, careful enquiries are made so as to make sure that the whole history of the case and any circumstances which may throw light on the future

treatment are already known before definite steps are taken."²⁸¹

This was not, of course, a history in terms of a psychological assessment of inner worlds or psychological depths. It was a very practical assessment, investigating potential avenues of support, and possible difficulties ahead.

Miss Stewart's words may seem to be reminiscent of the Charity Organisation Society (COS) style of casework. The COS emphasised the need for a careful "scientific" enquiry which often included the taking up of references in order to make an "accurate" assessment of the client's likelihood of dependence or independence in the future.²⁸² But there was one major difference. The COS assessment was about making a distinction between deserving and undeserving poor ; helpable and non-helpable cases. The new casework approach which Miss Stewart symbolised emphasised the need to build in necessary changes to the social environment - that is, intervention was not just about changing the individual, it was about improving the social environment. This necessitated a much wider range of methods of intervention than the casework relationship pioneered by the COS.

The actual help offered by the agency changed considerably under Miss Stewart's leadership. Young

women were still taken to and from institutions and places of work, but Miss Stewart broadened the intervention far beyond the limitations of conventional vigilance work.²⁸³ (See also Chapter Four : **Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement.**) She took on whole new areas of work, including girls' clubs and work with prisoners' families, marital counselling, support for a small number of elderly women who had been thrown out of domestic positions, and even work providing accommodation for sailors from the Home Fleet stationed in South Queensferry.²⁸⁴ In 1933 she wrote, "No matter what the trouble, we are willing to lend a hand."²⁸⁵ The Objects of the agency changed in 1930 to allow for this shift in direction away from protection in terms of white slavery towards a more open, all-encompassing protection for women and girls.²⁸⁶

Three features stand out from this period. The first is the continual struggle for the work of the agency to define and categorise itself, thus illustrating the struggle taking place within social work as a whole. For this agency, the phrase "moral welfare" summed up its work and its concerns. The second feature has to do with the social changes which were taking place over this time, which led to changes within the client-group and the agency's work. The third feature relates to the question of who has the authority to define and categorise the work, and here we see a contestation

taking place between the Organising Secretary and a key committee member over the nature of the social work product.

Younghusband (1947) wrote a report on the employment and training of social workers in which she laid down the existing parameters and functions of social work. Her list is useful in that it gives an indication of just how wide the perception was at this time.²⁸⁷ Included in the forms of social work are :- almoning, child care, church work, colonial service welfare, community centre and settlement work, community organisation, family casework, information and advice services, moral welfare, personnel management, the physically and mentally handicapped, probation and other court work, psychiatric social work, youth leadership, and social workers in the civil service. She herself comments :-

"The net result is to demonstrate the hopeless and unprofitable task of determining the frontiers of social work."

Younghusband goes on to define moral welfare work as having two aspects - "general sex-education from the religious standpoint, and individual work with those in moral danger". Younghusband further describes those in moral danger as :-

- 1) Young people in trouble, loneliness or danger;
- 2) Unmarried parents and their children;

- 3) Children of school-age and younger who have suffered from sexual assaults;
- 4) Married couples drifting apart through ignorance and misunderstanding;
- 5) Parents in perplexity about their children.²⁸⁸

This provides a very good summary of the principal concerns which Miss Stewart chose to become involved in, and provides a framework for understanding why Miss Stewart should be interested in such seemingly diverse activities as residential care for children and "matrimonial cases." Implicit in the notion of "moral welfare" is an acceptance of a view of women and children as being somehow vulnerable and in need of protection. But there is also more than a sprinkling of a new conceptualisation of the needs of children as being valid in their own right. Miss Stewart, at the same time as teaching on the new Moral Welfare course in Edinburgh, was herself a student of psychology, and a founder-member of the Child Guidance Council in Edinburgh in 1935. The knowledge which informed moral welfare drew heavily on psychological explanations, even though the underpinnings were the familiar Christian, moralistic discourses. (For more on this see Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

But another factor must be taken into account. The direction of the agency's work was not only influenced by theoretical ideas or individual preference of workers.

It was also greatly affected by changes in the client-group. The volume and nature of the agency's cases changed dramatically in the period up to the Second World War. The total number of cases more than doubled between 1930 and 1940, and there was an ever-increasing percentage of "mother and baby cases". These cases which had been seen as "outwith the remit of this agency " in 1919 became one-third of the cases by 1939, and this figure continued to rise through World War Two. Quite simply, there were more illegitimate pregnancies, and what was in the beginning a small part of the agency's work became the most significant part.²⁸⁹

The mother and baby cases demanded a great deal of work, both before and after the baby's birth. The task of the social worker (called a "caseworker" by the early 1940s) was to explore with the pregnant woman and her family how it might be possible to keep the baby. (This was quite unlike the open-ended, self-determining casework which was to become the proper, "professional" style in the future.²⁹⁰) Arrangements had to be made for the confinement, and for the after-care, which usually meant domestic service with or without the baby, and/or a private fostering placement for the baby. Putative fathers were contacted with regard to paying a contribution for maintenance of the child - the letter sent to the father was affectionately called "the snorter".²⁹¹ Adoptions were rare, since it was generally

believed that women would be less likely to have a second illegitimate child if they were encouraged to care for their first one. Miss Stewart expressed this clearly :-

"There is no character-building experience to be derived by a young girl who has the inconvenient consequences of her behaviour removed".²⁹²

The opening of a children's home in 1947 must be seen in the context of both the changes in the client-group and the new ideas on child development and children's needs. Edzell Lodge was opened primarily as a resource for unmarried mothers. Numbers of foster parents had declined rapidly during the Second World War, and there was a crisis of placement opportunities for illegitimate children. (See Figure 4 : Births to Unmarried Parents, 1911-1991) The impetus to open a Home came therefore from the need to find suitable accommodation for illegitimate children; the regime of the Home, once opened, reflected the new psychological ideas and practices.

But new directions in the agency were not simply due to Miss Stewart or to changes in the client-group. This takes me to the third outstanding feature in the professionalisation process at this time, that is, the changing role of the committees. Very broadly, what we can see with Miss Stewart's appointment, is that responsibility for initiative and direction in the agency

passed from the committee to the Organising Secretary. The worker was no longer simply an employee who did the bidding of a powerful and controlling committee. The committee was still there, and still hearing reports of her work, but it was Kay Stewart who was generating the ideas, and the committee seemed to be content to support her in her initiatives.

This shift seems to have been painless and a matter of some relief to the committees. The Executive Committee found it very difficult to attract new members in the period during and after the First World War. Some of the men and women who had been closely involved had died, and members found it hard to attract others to replace them. This must in large part be related to the increasing unpopularity of the vigilance cause - it no longer captured the public imagination in the way it had at the height of the white slavery moral panics. The overstretched, rather uncertain committee members were therefore delighted with their appointment of Miss Stewart, who brought with her new energy, ideas and most of all, new professional knowledge and experience.²⁹³

In the second half of Miss Stewart's leadership, the relationship with the committee became more problematic. Debate centred around two personalities and two versions of what professional social work should be - Miss Stewart

and Lady Learmonth were the key protagonists in this struggle.

Charlotte Learmonth joined the Executive Committee in 1944. Mrs Learmonth (soon to become Lady Learmonth) had trained as a medical social worker in the United States before coming to Scotland with her professor-husband. Unable to work in a paid capacity herself,²⁹⁴ she searched out the social work scene in Edinburgh and came to offer her services on a voluntary basis to the Guild of the Guild of Service for Women. Her choice of this agency was solely on the grounds that this was the only agency with a professionally-qualified social worker at the helm.²⁹⁵ Mrs Learmonth spent her first year getting to know the work of the agency by working alongside Miss Stewart as an unpaid caseworker. Then in 1944 she agreed to accept nomination to the Executive Committee, where she set about up-grading and professionalising the committees and the agency's work.

She described the Executive Committee in 1944 as "an over-balanced committee, only supporting one aspect of the work - the financial".²⁹⁶ Her self-appointed task was therefore to recruit new committee members who would give a better level of support to the professional work of the agency - "people chosen for their known capabilities".²⁹⁷ She expressed this more fully :-

"Far deeper possibilities existed for an enlightened

group of women not only to support the organisation, but under the leadership of trained caseworkers, to learn from their experience and so carry back to their community the leaven of new and progressive ideas."²⁹⁸

Committee members with Charlotte Learmonth's encouragement were soon carrying out diverse duties on behalf of the agency - visiting the Children's Homes to advise on matters of "housewifely concerns"²⁹⁹; befriending the children in the Homes; reviewing cases for adoption or fostercare; fundraising and publicity work. Lady Learmonth clearly saw the potential for a group of unpaid women, most of whom were doctor's wives, to carry out a supportive role to the professional staff at the same time as acting as monitors of the service delivery. Her approach caused more than a little friction within the agency, leading to some older committee members leaving, (described to me as "the old ladies with hats").³⁰⁰ Lady Learmonth was also instrumental in the setting up of new inter-agency childcare committees in Edinburgh, for example, the Edinburgh Children's Welfare Group, and the Edinburgh Children's Homes Organisation.

Lady Learmonth's impact on the actual social work practice of the agency is more difficult to quantify. Agency-records give the impression that all the innovation in service-provision was coming from Miss

Stewart, who wrote the Annual Reports, carried out much of the work, and trained the assistant caseworkers. But interviews which I have conducted suggest that Lady Learmonth was increasingly influential in decision-making about policy and practice in terms of childcare, and that Miss Stewart felt increasingly vulnerable and unsupported in her work. Eventually, Miss Stewart resigned in 1954, unable to reconcile herself to a specific difference of opinion over a child in care.³⁰¹

The breakdown between Miss Stewart and Lady Learmonth reflects the struggle in the agency between moral welfare and casework as the legitimate object and strategy. Moral welfare was being eroded throughout the social work world - medical social workers, probation officers, children's officers, marriage guidance workers, youth workers, religious education teachers were all taking over bits of what had been moral welfare's responsibility. The moral welfare course which Miss Stewart had fought to establish in Edinburgh collapsed after only one year in 1948 through a lack of students, and increasingly, the moralistic discourse was coming under attack from the new professional social work discourses - from medical social work, psychiatric social work and later child care.

Lady Learmonth symbolised the new approach to social work. Trained as a medical social worker, she had a

vested interest in pushing a medical model of social work in which the social worker had her own field of expertise and specialist knowledge, equal to that of the doctor. She saw the scope within the agency to develop its casework practice, and felt no allegiance to the vigilance work. She became impatient with Miss Stewart's reluctance to give up the vigilance activities (Miss Stewart kept up contact with the NVA until she resigned), and she challenged some of Miss Stewart's decision-making about agency cases.

After Miss Stewart resigned, the Executive Committee was unable to find a replacement of a high enough calibre - "a person able to envisage the changes and expansion of the work was needed."³⁰² Members chose to wait for three years to appoint a leader (now called Director) until Dr McWhinnie completed her Psychiatric Social Work post-qualifying training at Edinburgh University in 1957. It was Dr McWhinnie who matched agency requirements in terms of professionalising the service.

(ii) Stage Two - Streamlining the Service

When Dr McWhinnie began as Director in 1957, she came to an agency which she already knew. She had worked for Miss Stewart for two years as an assistant caseworker before going on to do a PhD on experiences of adoption.³⁰³ She was approached by the then Executive Committee chairman, Mrs Betty Hamilton, with Lady Learmonth, and invited to take on the job of Director.

She discussed with them changes which she wished and needed to make in the agency, and they gave her full approval to make changes as she thought fit. She came to the agency with an already worked-out plan for professionalising the service, and spent the next five years working to put her ideas into practice.³⁰⁴

The shift in policy and practice post 1957 was therefore neither accidental or incremental. Rather, it can be understood as a deliberate attempt to re-shape agency policy and practice to fit perceived standards of professional organisation and professional systems, mirroring both medical models of consultation and aetiology (see Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**) and business models of structure and bureaucracy.

Dr McWhinnie introduced changes at management, administrative and practice levels, all aimed at what she saw as upgrading and "professionalising" the service. The Director became responsible for the professional development of the agency, in terms of policy development and improvements in actual casework practice. She held a caseload of adoptive couples, and instituted a system of regular, detailed supervision of the work of the other caseworkers. (The model being employed by Dr McWhinnie is very reminiscent of that seen in psychiatric social work settings. She, as Director, acted as a quasi-consultant, leading the weekly discussions of cases, and

holding a small case-load herself to maintain her professional expertise.) Because she was fully occupied with "professional" concerns, a new post of agency Secretary/Treasurer was created to take charge of all financial and administrative matters.³⁰⁵

The role of the committees had to change too. Although the Executive and General Committees continued to meet, increasingly the professional decision-making of the agency took place in other arenas, principally centred on the paid caseworkers. The large committees found themselves dealing with financial and practical arrangements to do with, for example, staffing and publicity. Dr McWhinnie gathered around herself a number of experts whom she could call on - paediatricians, child psychiatrists, university teachers, lawyers, prominent medics. Some took part in new groupings - an Advisory Council was set up in 1955; and the following year Adoption and Childcare committees began.³⁰⁶ Others gave their professional input in other ways - examining babies, advising on points of law, carrying out assessments of would-be adopters' psychiatric history and potential life-expectancy. The caseworker's task was to draw together the professional assessments of others and to make a recommendation based on the sum-total of these and of her own findings. The role of the committees was to ratify the professional recommendations and to maintain the quality of service.

Through all these changes, significantly, Dr McWhinnie had the support of Lady Learmonth who was delighted with the general shift towards more professional standards.³⁰⁷ Some committee members were less enthusiastic. They found the new-style committees too high-powered and moved instead to giving service by working in the newly-opened Thrift Shop. But committee members were not the only casualties. Three of the four existing members of staff who had worked prior to Dr McWhinnie's arrival left within a year; one significant new appointment was that of Miss Janet Lusk, fresh off the new Child Care course at Birmingham University, and soon to be appointed Director herself in 1962.

One of the first changes which we can identify from this period of transformation is a shift in the agency's clients. The "general casework" help which had been given to a broad range of clients perceived to be at risk was narrowed to become a specialist service targetted at a limited client-group made up of predominantly unmarried mothers and adoptive parents.³⁰⁸ This "streamlining of the service", as Dr McWhinnie referred to it in the 1958 Annual Report, meant that cases seen as inappropriate to the agency were now referred on elsewhere, for example, elderly women and travellers were passed on to other agencies.³⁰⁹ Soon after, the agency changed its name to the Guild of Service.³¹⁰ With a more narrowly-defined

area of work, and with extra social work and secretarial staff employed to carry out the work, the agency was free to develop its policy and procedures in what became the agency's field of excellence, that is, its adoption practice. (This change must, again, be set in the context of the growing statutory services and the need for voluntary agencies to clearly define their pitch. See Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

Changes in adoption practice illustrate the changes in the casework of the agency. Dr McWhinnie was very interested in adoption, and specifically in making adoption practice more "scientific". Her Ph.D project had been a follow-up study of adoptees³¹¹, and she was very familiar with all the new literature and research emanating principally from the United States and the Child Welfare League of America. Dr McWhinnie believed in the importance of good "prediction" in adoption work, that is, accurate assessments of the natural parents, the baby and the adoptive parents so that a successful "matching" could take place. A new, rigorous approach to assessment was introduced, involving I.Q. testing of pregnant women considering adoption and the putative fathers³¹²; thorough medical examinations of babies prior to placement; and calculation of life-expectancy of would-be adopters by a medical adviser expert in life insurance. This approach was seen by the professionals

carrying it out as a world apart from the "cursory" checks and "hunches" which had been the feature of routine adoption practice before then.³¹³ Adoption practice at the Guild of Service at this time was in fact widely recognised to be of a high professional standard. Younghusband (1978) cites the Guild of Service as an example of an agency which pioneered the professional approach. She writes :-

"Professional social work deserves credit for making assessment a fundamental of practice and devoting much effort to refining this in the light of new knowledge."³¹⁴

Other changes were equally significant in the professionalisation process. The system of record-keeping was revolutionised - gone were the daybook and card-index, and in their place were case files. Each case now had its own file, and caseworkers were encouraged to keep full records of all contacts made, prefaced by a full case "history", which included all known information on the person's family background. At the same time, Dr McWhinnie devised a number of standard forms and pro-forma letters to cut down on time wasting and to ensure a general standard of service. (This was particularly necessary because over this period and right through the 1960s, illegitimate pregnancies and adoptions dealt with by the agency were growing. Adoption

placements escalated and continued to rise until a peak was reached in 1970. See Figure 5)

As the agency grew bigger, there were other internal changes necessary to fit with an increasingly professional, bureaucratic organisation. The style of social work intervention changed. Whereas before, caseworkers might have dropped in on clients at home, or clients come into the office "on speck", now pre-arranged appointments were viewed as the proper way to meet clients. And a formality appeared in the relationships between staff and service-users. Adoptive parents were always addressed as Mr and Mrs, though unmarried mothers continued often to be called by their first names.

Most critically, however, there was a shift in the agency's subjects - in who was allowed to carry out the social work task. What we see for the first time is a more rigid demarcation of roles and tasks within the agency. This is evidenced in two ways. First, volunteer committee members were edged out of befriending children at Edzell Lodge. It was no longer considered to be in the best interests of the children for committee members to take a special interest in individual children, giving them cast-off clothes, presents at birthday times, and taking them out to tea. Working with the children became a professional task only, and a new worker was appointed to act as link social worker between the casework and the

residential staff.³¹⁵ The weekly rotational visits of committee members to Edzell Lodge to hear about management /administrative concerns still continued, but committee members felt very unhappy to be squeezed out of real contact with individual children.³¹⁶ Some left the agency altogether. Others confined their activities to fundraising from then on.

But it was not only volunteers who found themselves excluded from areas of work. Amongst the casework staff themselves, two separate teams developed - of those who worked with single parents and unmarried mothers, (the students, new workers and less qualified members of staff) and those who worked with adopters (the experienced, better qualified staff.) This division led to feelings amongst staff of a hierarchy in the agency, with adopters' social workers occupying some kind of privileged status in the agency. Over and above this, there was little contact between office-based staff and residential workers in the children's home, a position which would be echoed throughout the social work world. Residential staff traditionally have received less pay and lower status than fieldwork staff.³¹⁷

(iii) Stage Three - Professional Consolidation and the Challenge to Professionalisation

The next phase in the agency's life was at a general level one of consolidation - Miss Janet Lusk as new Director took over the professional sword from Dr

McWhinnie in 1962 and carried the agency onwards and upwards. Janet Lusk strengthened the professional status of her agency and social work as a whole through her work on central and local government committees, professional associations, and innovative research projects. She attracted high quality staff to come to work at the agency, and struggled to get their conditions of service and salaries on a par with local authority employees. The agency had a very high reputation for professional practice, and was called upon by voluntary and statutory agencies to give advice on systems and procedures, particularly in relation to its adoption work. Student placements in the Guild of Service were at a premium, as courses and students fought to get training experience in such a good agency.³¹⁸

Internally, professionalisation continued apace. As the agency grew, more staff were appointed - new senior staff came to take responsibility for supervising the practice of the "basic grade" social workers, leaving the Director time to develop contacts and practice outwith the agency; more secretarial staff were employed to free social workers to carry out their professional duties. This agency, along with all statutory social work expanded greatly, and the agency's funding base changed, as the agency progressively came to rely on government grants for the bulk of its financial support. (See Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

Social workers were no longer expected to do any fundraising - this was definitely considered to be "unprofessional". At the same time, committee members' weekly management visits to Edzell Lodge were terminated, viewed as an unnecessary intrusion on the staff and the children in the home. These two seemingly small changes had one important consequence. Opportunities for staff and committee members to get to know one another and to value each others' contribution - already becoming difficult as the size of the agency grew - were undoubtedly lessened by these moves. Ex-committee members have described to me feeling excluded from the work of the agency, and resenting fundraising to pay increasing social work salaries rather than to support needy children. Social workers, for their part, found the committee members on the whole out of touch and ill-informed, unsympathetic to the professional pressures.

Anxiety about the distance between committee members and staff led to a decision in the mid 1970s to re-structure the committees, giving senior social work staff voting rights on the Executive Committee for the first time, and abolishing the large General Committee which had drawn in so many lay people to the work of the agency in the past, but was now viewed as an anachronism, contributing nothing to the agency's professional work. The new model

was intended to emphasise the partnership and co-operation between staff and committee members working together to establish agency policy and practice. In effect, some committee members saw it as a further incursion of professional social work power over lay committee members.³¹⁹

Professional social work has not always had its own way in the battle to control the social work task. Rumblings of discontent between the professional staff and lay members exploded in 1982/83 over a particularly contentious professional decision which the Executive Committee refused to give its backing to. A man who admitted to being a homosexual applied to adopt a boy in care. The assessment of the Family Care social worker was that he would be a good adoptive parent for this boy; the Adoption Committee could not agree what to do, and took the case to the Executive Committee for consideration. What followed was a period of intense activity and strife within the agency. Groups were aligned for and against the social worker's recommendation, and meetings were held in which the arguments for and against homosexual parenting were rehearsed. Eventually, the Executive turned down the adoption application, principally on the grounds that public opinion was not yet ready for such a placement.

The incident is interesting because of the debate which it signified. This was not only about homosexuality and parenting. It was about the lay committee members' right and duty to act as a brake on professional practice and to safeguard the agency's public standing. Not all lay committee members in fact disagreed with the social worker's recommendation, and not all social workers accepted it. But what happened was that it became impossible to hear the argument or conduct the debate in any other way than a professional versus lay manner. When Janet Lusk retired the following year, the new Director re-structured the Executive Committee again, removing two senior staff members and re-asserting the principle of a lay committee.

It was not only professional social work within this agency which was under scrutiny in the 1970s however. There always had been a significant minority of social work commentators who had been highly cynical about the "fantastically pretentious facade"³²⁰ which called itself professional social work. Likewise, a number of voices were always heard decrying social work's loss of its roots in the social reform movement. Towle (1961)³²¹ was concerned that social work was losing "the cause" in favour of technique. She claimed that social workers were beginning to value their public image and their technical skills beyond the causes for which they should

have been the advocates. Sinfield (1970) echoes this.

He asserts :-

"The emphasis on psychodynamic techniques in social work in the 1950s did much to make the poor "silent" or "invisible." Given a different emphasis ... the profession of social work might well have played a leading role in making society aware much earlier of the persistence of poverty."³²²

(The question of the influence of "psy" on social work is picked up more fully in Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

The 1970s witnesses two competing trends within social work. First, professional social work was strengthened to an unprecedented degree with the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 (and the Seebohm Committee in England and Wales) and the emergence of local authority social work departments. Here the future pattern of professional social work was laid down - not an autonomous, private kind of professionalism as exemplified by private counsellors in the United States, but what has been called a "bureau-professionalism", in which professional control would be established through the training of the vast numbers of unqualified workers in the employ of local authorities.³²³

At the same time, with the re-discovery of poverty in the 1960s, and the development of a radical movement within

social work in the 1970s, professional social work in general and casework in particular came under attack. New ideas emanating from systems theory and the unitary approach brought back to centre-stage the importance of social factors in assessment and decision-making; the new generic social work courses reflected this move away from individual, psychodynamic solutions, and away from specialist to generalist knowledge. New approaches to social work practice were experimented with - community work, groupwork and the use of volunteers became popular again, especially when these volunteers were from the same social class or had had shared life-experiences as those with whom they were to be working.³²⁴ (1973 marked the beginnings of the Volunteer Centre, set up to "promote current developments in volunteering and to foster the development of new opportunities for individual volunteers, voluntary agencies and community groups."³²⁵) Professionalism was also challenged by a new grouping within social work as trade unionism began to have a significant voice as social workers found themselves increasingly employed by the post 1975 large regional authorities. Just as important, professional social work practice took a number of severe knocks in the 1970s, as child abuse tragedies highlighted social work's inability to prevent children being abused and even killed by their parents.

The Guild of Service (or Family Care as it became in 1978) was at the forefront of the development of some of the new approaches to social work intervention. Groups for single mothers, pregnant women and fostermothers were established with the appointment of a groupworker in 1970. A volunteer befriending scheme for single parent families was initiated when a Volunteers Co-ordinator started work in 1973, and by 1976 volunteers were again taking children out from the children's home. But this agency has held onto its insistence on professionalism throughout. It did not transform itself in the 1970s to become a self-help or campaigning agency. Its groupwork and volunteers projects have always been firmly controlled and monitored by professional social work staff. It even held onto its principal method of intervention, that is, casework, though renamed the more acceptable term "counselling."

The late 1980s saw the agency again trying out new ways of coping with the dilemmas of professionalism. Service-users were encouraged to join committees (though significantly these tended to be adopters and volunteers rather than single parents) ; clients, committee members and social workers were encouraged to "join" Family Care and vote at Annual General Meetings ; a new Policy Committee was formed to be the forum to which staff would take ideas and issues from their practice. A new project in Muirhouse began with strongly anti-professional

underpinnings; service-users were given permission to read their records for the first time ; and new self-help groups were established. Nevertheless, the main drive in the agency was still towards professional social work. When an Executive Committee member made a passionate plea at the 1991 Annual General Meeting for the agency to re-think its approach to voluntary workers in the agency as the best way of solving the agency's financial difficulties, her advice fell on deaf ears.³²⁶ Faced by cut-backs and severe financial stress, Family Care has chosen to retract rather than to de-professionalise its service. At the same time, social work as a whole is going through the process of trying to re-build its professional image and status through the creation of a General Council for social work, and the re-introduction of specialist workers and specialist post-qualifying training.

6.7 Summary

Having set out carefully in the beginning to debunk uncritical acceptance of the idea of professionalisation as a smooth and steady development, I am nevertheless certain that something which we may call professionalisation has taken place in social work, and that this agency is a good illustration of this process. The term "profession" is not value-free, and "professionalisation" does not happen in a straight line, unaffected and unimpeded by the context in which it is

taking place. But it is that very reality which makes it interesting and worthy of examination.

Within this agency, I have suggested that professionalisation can be examined in three recognisable stages. The first shift took place in the period 1930s to the 1950s, and marked a change in direction away from vigilance work and towards moral welfare and casework. The second, from the 1957 to 1962 saw the introduction of a new, specialised, "professional" kind of casework to the agency. The third stage, from 1962 to 1984, witnessed social work strengthening its professional standing while at the same time questioning whether professional status and values should be its main aspiration.

Throughout the professionalisation process a battle was being waged to determine what social work should be - what should be the limits and determining factors and rightful focus of concern of social work; who should be allowed to be social workers and to speak on behalf of social work; where social work should turn to draw its authority. The professionalisation contestation with Family Care was fought by different groups and individuals who were broadly made up of the same social class and gender grouping. It was white, middle-class women who fought amongst themselves to create not only a version of social work, but a way of acting as

professional working women, with a valid position and professional status outwith the home and the family which was equal to that of their professional male colleagues. Increasingly, however, it was male academics and male psychiatrists/ psychologists/ paediatricians who led the field and set the parameters of the debate within social work. And it was men who came to take over the top jobs when statutory social work provision expanded, and especially in the post-1975 local government reorganisation which established the hugely powerful regional social work departments. Family Care continued to reflect and illustrate professionalisation's progress, but it ceased to lead the field, or to anticipate any of the developments. (See Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

The professionalisation of social work must not be seen as isolated from the much wider context of a growing involvement of professionals operating on behalf of the state (whether working in statutory or voluntary agencies) and regulating the lives of families and individuals - the "psy" professions (cf Donzelot, 1980). It was the new legitimacy of intervention, and the huge explosion in statutory and voluntary social work which made possible, and which to a large degree necessitated a more rationally organised, bureaucratic, professional service ; psycho-dynamic theories and knowledge provided

the underlying explanations for the shift. (See Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

I am left, finally, with feelings of ambivalence about the professionalisation of social work. I mourn the passing of some of the idealism of early social work - the belief that radical change is possible and the solution is in our grasp if we can only work together to achieve it. And I regret the exclusiveness of so much social work practice - the way in which we as social workers have created a vast empire for ourselves and will do anything we can to protect it from others - from volunteers, social work assistants, home helps, service-users - anyone who might grasp hold of the fact that we have little more to offer than ourselves. But at the same time, I champion the rights of the early women social workers to be taken seriously and to work to create a status for themselves equal to that of male professionals (doctors, priests and lawyers.) I have benefitted from their battles, as I have undoubtedly gained from successive generations who have fought for better pay, better working conditions, and the transformation of social work from a vocation into a career.

Figure 4
 births to unmarried parents per 100 live births

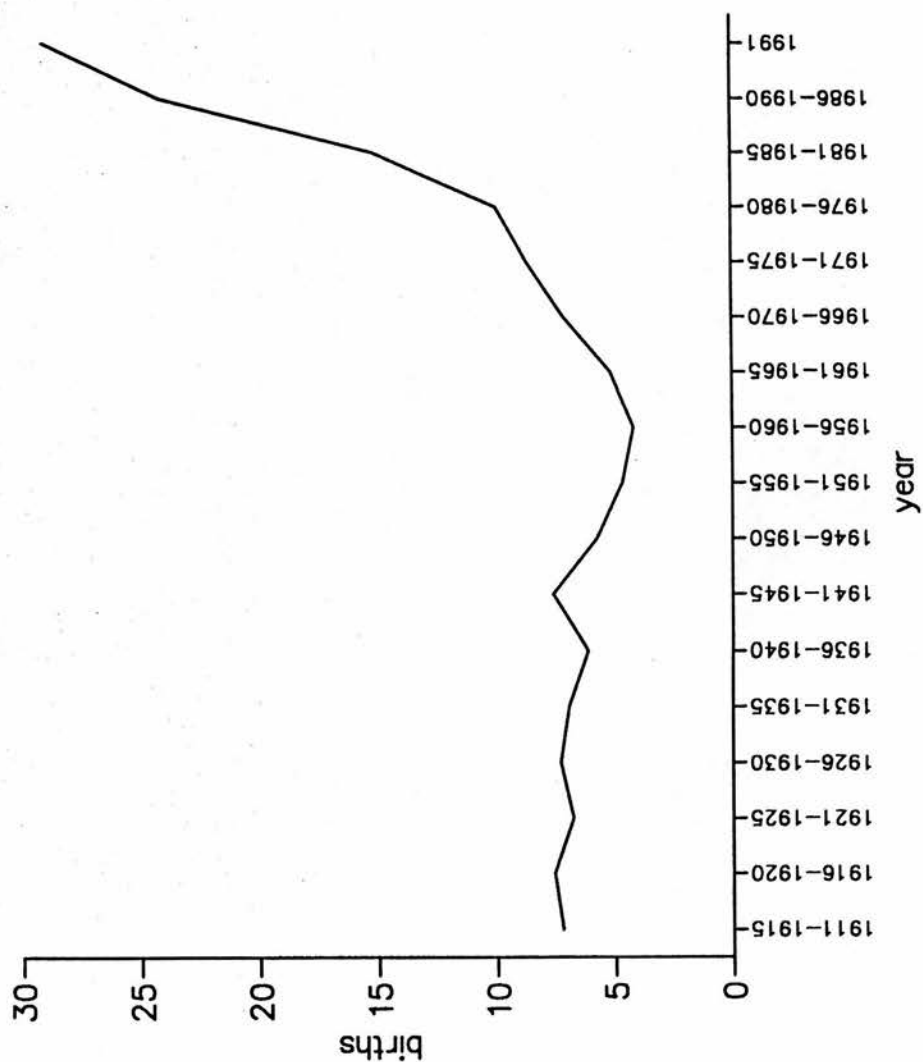


Figure 4 - Notes

1. Source - Registrar General for Scotland, Annual Report, 1991
Edinburgh : General Register Office, p19

2. Note the relatively stable rate of births to unmarried parents during the first 50 years of Family Care's life. There was however a small increase in illegitimacy rates during the First World War, and an even more visible peak as a result of the Second World War. This has been attributed to greater sexual freedom during the war, and of course, the death of boyfriends and partners meant that weddings which might have taken place could not do so. Wartime sexual behaviour caused this and other agencies considerable concern.

3. Note also the steady increase in births to unmarried parents from the early 1960s onwards, rising even more sharply from the late 1970s. This must be seen in the context of similar increases in abortion figures over this time. In other words, more women in general have been becoming pregnant outwith marriage.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PSYCHIATRIC DELUGE?

7.1 Introduction

In her analysis of the development of social work in England and the United States, Kathleen Woodroffe (1962) claims that in America during and after the First World War (and a decade later in England) the social work scene was swept by a "psychiatric deluge which, for the time being at least, deflected social work into entirely new channels."³²⁷ She continues :-

"When it receded, it left rich alluvial soil in which new concepts were to take root and flourish, and older ones were to be vitalised and shaped anew. From these developments, especially from the teaching of Freud and his disciples, there was to emerge not only a new way of thinking about people, but an entirely new way of helping them."³²⁸

Woodroffe's notion of a "psychiatric deluge" has not gone unchallenged. Jones (1979) suggests that the continuities within social work are more striking than the changes - that the take-up of Freudian theory "did not involve any fundamental shift in social work's stance or orientation."³²⁹ Alexander's study (1972) of social work practice in the United States is even more sceptical about a "psychiatric deluge". He finds that "except in a few north-eastern cities, Freudian theory was not well known to social workers. Its influence was limited to an

elite few rather than to the main body of the profession."³³⁰ Yelloly (1980) provides the most useful assessment. She argues that the impact of psycho-analysis has not necessarily been as direct as has been suggested.³³¹ She proposes that social workers continued to be concerned with the impact of social issues such as unemployment - that there was no "deluge" as such in the United States - but nevertheless, "the adoption of a medical model of casework intervention with its tendency to focus attention on treatment processes in relation to the individual made a social or reform perspective more difficult to maintain. "³³²

This chapter examines the influence of the psychiatric/ psychological/ psycho-analytic discourse (the "psy" discourse³³³) on the social work scene in Scotland. Family Care provides an example of one social work agency which has lived through the changes associated with the development of the psy framework within social work. At times in its history, Family Care has been in the forefront of these changes, pioneering intelligence testing and new casework methods, and training other organisations and social workers to adopt similar approaches. But Family Care has never been a centre of psycho-analytic expertise, either as a clinic or a therapeutic community. It therefore illustrates much more fully the partial nature of the "psycho-analysing" of social work - the way in which new ideas were adapted

to fit specific circumstances and often to incorporate old ways of thinking about social work.

In this chapter it is my intention to examine two main areas. First, I will look for evidence of the incorporation within social work of knowledge and methods which owed allegiance to a psychological or psycho-analytic perspective. I will be concerned to find out whether the psy influence has been as widespread and far-reaching as has been suggested ; what ideas were accepted while others were rejected ; what older discourses survived alongside and inter-meshed with the new conceptualisations. Then, I will place this detailed picture in the wider context, analysing what needs and aspirations were served by the adoption of this new knowledge base, and what were the repercussions of its acceptance within social work. I will specifically ask - has it been a liberating or repressing force within social work? What kinds of subjectivity and solutions to social problems has it made possible?

I will draw on two themes in my analysis. I will emphasise the constitutive role of knowledge - that the new knowledge which social work adopted was very much a hybrid phenomenon which in turn made possible new ways of thinking about, speaking about and classifying social work and the social work task. I will also argue that the incorporation of the psy discourse was not

accidental. Rather, it was a deliberate strategy on the part of social work educators and practitioners who were actively seeking a way of defining and organising social work which would distinguish it from every-day common-sense, and which at the same time would distance it from older, more punitive and moralistic discourses on social work. New ideas from psycho-analysis and psychology fitted the requirements of a professionalising service on both counts. (See Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work**) But social work was not the only profession to adopt the new psy framework. The "psycho-analysing" of social work must be understood as part of a wider movement within society towards a more regulatory form of social control, administered and managed by the new psy professions, in which social work has played an important part.

7.2 Definitions

Before getting immersed in the detail of the Family Care material, it is vital that some attention is given to definitions. I have already used a number of different terms without explanation - psychiatric, psycho-analytic, psychological, and psy discourse or framework.

It is fair to say that any confusion in the terminology is not mine alone. On the contrary, different writers have used these terms in quite different ways, to argue very different points. Woodroffe (1962)³³⁴ exemplifies

this confusion. She uses the terms "psychiatric" and "psychological" at times interchangeably, and at other times differentiated from one another. Although she writes about a "psychiatric deluge", in fact it is the influence of Freudian psychology - of psycho-analysis, not psychiatry - which ultimately she sees as of crucial significance to the development of social work. What is most illuminating about Woodroffe's study, however, is the lively picture she presents of the competition between psychology, psychiatry and psycho-analysis, all vying for attention, and overlapping with each other in terms of subject-matter and identified client-group and problem-focus. If she fails to differentiate clearly between the three disciplines, this is in large measure because such distinctions are less important than the general movement towards what Woodroffe calls "the science of the mind."³³⁵

Donzelot (1980)³³⁶ takes a different approach. He makes a clear differentiation between psychiatry and psycho-analysis. Psychiatry is described as a very punitive technique of social control - it is control through institutionalisation and the use of force. Psycho-analysis, on the other hand, is assumed to have humanising potential - it is "the only discourse on human psychism that was capable of placing an obstacle in the way of the racist and fascist representations that were generated by a psychiatry obsessed with eugenics."³³⁷

Donzelot identifies a series of phases in the development of social work, distinguishing between the psychiatric stage, which featured institutionalisation and the removal of problematic members from the family and the psycho-analytic stage, from the 1950s onwards, when the presenting problem was seen to be a family problem, and dealt with in the context of the family. Donzelot uses the term psy agency and psy specialist to refer to the host of counsellors, social workers, psychologists, and psycho-analysts who are involved in this practice of "non-degrading corrective action."³³⁸

Miller and Rose (1986) challenge the characterisation of Donzelot and others of "hard" psychiatry and "soft" alternatives - psycho-analysis, psycho-therapy, and "other talking cures". They suggest instead that psychiatry must be assessed both as a body of professional expertise and techniques, and in terms of what it makes possible in the wider world of the regulation of behaviour. They claim :-

"This contemporary psychiatric system extends far beyond the medicalised institution. It comprises a widespread but loosely related assemblage of practices that seek to regulate individual subjectivities and manage personal and social relations in the name of the minimization of mental disorder and the promotion of mental health."³³⁹

From this perspective, the overlaps between psychiatry and psychology are more fundamental than the discrepancies between them - what Miller and Rose refer to as the "dependencies, interrelations and collaborations that have existed and continue to exist between them."³⁴⁰

Foucault (1977)³⁴¹ is also concerned with the development of the psy complex. Foucault identifies a shift taking place within punishment from the surveillance of bodies to the surveillance of minds ; from the control of the problem to the control of the problem-doer (the individual or the family) ; from a traditional form of law based on juridical rights to a colonisation by the psy complex and the criteria of "normalisation". He suggests that the new psy professions have a critical role to play in disciplining behaviour, through the process of hierarchichical surveillance, normalising judgment and the examination. It is through this process that subjects and objects of the psy discourse are created - in effect, the discourse creates the categories which it then uses to classify and divide up people, and regulate and control behaviour. Miller and Rose (1990) express this well :-

"Vocabularies and theories are important not so much because of the meanings that they produce, but as intellectual technologies, ways of rendering existence thinkable and practicable, amenable to the distinctive

influence of various techniques of inscription,
notation and calculation."³⁴²

It is this conceptualisation which I wish to foreground in my analysis of the impact of psychology/ psychiatry/ psycho-analysis on social work. I am not therefore concerned with the debates over which had most significant effects at what period in history - psychology or psychiatry. Neither will I concentrate on the relative merits of one technique over another - psycho-analysis over psychology ; psychology over psychiatry. Instead, I am interested to assess the combined impact of a psy discourse on social work - what bits of the psy discourse have been incorporated into social work, and what the psy discourse has made thinkable within social work and within society as a whole.

7.3 The Psy Discourse and Family Care - Psychometrics and Intelligence Testing

We can see the beginnings of the influence of a psy discourse on the social work practice of Family Care (then the Guild of Service for Women) in the 1940s. Miss Kay Stewart, the Organising Secretary, under the supervision and guidance of James Drever, Professor of Psychology at Edinburgh University, began to carry out a longitudinal study of the intelligence of illegitimate children and their unmarried mothers. Using Progressive Matrices (1938)³⁴³ she tested the children at the point of entry into agency care - at first, this was foster-care and after Edzell Lodge opened in 1947, on entry into the children's home. She re-tested them after a specified interval to see whether she could prove the hypothesis that environment has a significant effect on children's intelligence.³⁴⁴

Intelligence testing was very popular in Edinburgh from the 1920s onwards. A key figure in this work was Godfrey Thomson, joint Professor of Education at Edinburgh University and Moray House Training College, and James Drever's superior until Drever moved into the new Psychology Department in 1931. Thomson was concerned to make educational research scientifically respectable - to make it as like the physical sciences as possible. He argues :-

"much mathematical study and many calculations have to

precede every improvement in engineering, and it will not be otherwise in the future with the social as well as the physical sciences."³⁴⁵

Thomson believed that intelligence was the most important variable in education, and so he set about devising instruments for the measurement of intelligence and a coherent theory of functioning intelligence. His aim was to find a way of providing educational opportunities which would be a "fit" for children's potential, so that intelligent children would be stretched in their learning, and less gifted children would be given education appropriate to their level and ability.

Professor Drever's interests lay less with intelligence and more with the measurement and understanding of personality, particularly with the impact of instincts on emotions. He began to contrive character and temperament tests in the laboratory setting, and out of this work developed a theory of the bipolarity of emotion, which suggested a correspondence between the fulfilling or thwarting of instinctive aims and emotion.³⁴⁶ In other words, the development of personality and child development was seen to be more fundamentally related to environmental influence on instinctual aims, rather than to unconscious motivations or to inborn characteristics. Drever was therefore hostile to all forms of psychoanalysis.

Drever's interest in delinquency led him to take on court cases, and later behaviour problems and educational problems were brought to him for advice. By the early 1930s, Drever had his own out-patient clinic based at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital for children with behavioural and educational problems.³⁴⁷ Miss Stewart was very much a part of these developments. She was a founding member of the Child Guidance Council ; in her role as Probation Officer to "delinquent" children she made many referrals to Drever's clinic ; and Professor Drever's assistant, Dr. Mary Collins was an Executive Committee member and life-long friend of Kay Stewart.

The "heredity versus environment" debate was not confined to the Edinburgh scene. Psychology was building its professional status and scientific credibility on its claims to be able to measure individual differences and predict behaviour accordingly. Cyril Burt began studying delinquent boys and later he followed this up with an analysis of kinship groups, heredity and intelligence.³⁴⁸ Burt studied twins reared together and apart ; siblings reared together and apart ; and unrelated children reared together, and concluded that environment enhanced natural differences - hence the importance of testing children and giving those with both poor and high ability special education.

There is not space or necessity in the context of this thesis to describe the whole field of psychometrics at this time. However, it is vital to have an awareness of not just the existence of this field of study, but some of its underlying implications and consequences. Going back to the key questions which I set out at the beginning of this chapter, the important themes emerge. The psychology which held sway at this time was very much the psychology of the laboratory - its instruments were technical, "scientific" ones, its practitioners were specialists, and its objects were individual differences. The solutions and strategies proposed followed on from this conceptualisation - children were to be classified, divided up and treated according to these perceived individual differences. Rose (1985) argues that eugenic and neo-hygienist strategies were brought together in psychology - individual psychology made it possible to diagnose and classify the feeble-minded ; to effectively divide up the population between those who could be treated/ socialised/ educated and the residuum.³⁴⁹ The existence of psychometrics cannot therefore be understood outwith the context of a widespread concern about the general health of the population ; about the falling birthrate, especially amongst the middle-classes ; and about the need to develop new approaches to welfare provision with the dismantling of the Poor Law. And psychology was itself striving at this time to achieve status as an independent science, equal in stature to

other academic disciplines, by drawing on the methodology of physical science and the subject-matter of moral philosophy.

Miss Stewart's research in the 1940s was therefore less about deliberately setting out to professionalise social work, and more about helping to create a body of knowledge and expertise around child development and psychology which social work might be able to utilise. Hers was a one contribution amongst many to the building of a body of knowledge which future generations of social workers could draw on.

Psychometrics made a re-appearance in Family Care in the late 1950s with the use of intelligence testing of parents (most frequently mothers, but sometimes fathers) whose babies were to be placed for adoption. This time the focus of attention was not child development, but more systematic assessment in adoption. There was a strong desire on the part of the agency, and the agency Director, Dr McWhinnie, to move away from the "subjective opinions or hunches" which were believed to have been the basis of decision-making in adoption in the past.³⁵⁰ Dr McWhinnie was highly critical of the fact that each Adoption Society had its own particular guiding rules in selection of adopters and placement of babies - rules which included barring certain occupations (for example, publicans) ; setting an upper age limit of 40 years for

adopters ; refusing to place babies in families where there were already adoptive or natural children. Instead, she urged the introduction of "an objective appraisal of each individual situation,"³⁵¹ that is, a thorough examination of the baby, the adopters, and the birth (biological) parents. Intelligence testing of birth parents was therefore introduced in 1959 after consultation with Aberdeen University's Professor Rex Knight, an expert in the field.³⁵²

Intelligence testing of birth parents makes logical sense when placed in this context of a deliberate attempt to carry out more "scientific", professional assessments. Rigorous paediatric assessments of babies were introduced ; full medical and psychiatric assessments of adopters and birth parents were sought ; social workers carried out social histories on birth parents and adopters ; and the last piece of the jigsaw puzzle was provided by the intelligence test. The test was viewed by social workers as particularly useful in situations where a mother had a very low intelligence, and was deemed to be borderline "mentally sub-normal."³⁵³ The test was also believed to be a more reliable tool than a straightforward social worker's assessment of her potential, since the birth mother may have been working in a job less than her capabilities, or simply, reacting under stress and seeming less intelligent than she really was.³⁵⁴ The whole process of assessment and examination

was judged to lead to a greater likelihood of a good "match" in adoption.³⁵⁵

There are two underlying assumptions here which were widespread in psychological circles at this time. Intelligence was still seen as largely dependent upon heredity, and essentially stable in nature throughout life - hence the belief in the usefulness of testing of biological parents as a predictor of the intelligence of their children. Moreover, current research held that the mother was most important in determining the child's inherited intelligence - which explains why fathers were not always asked to submit to testing.³⁵⁶ Even more fundamentally, intelligence tests assumed that intellectual ability could be measured in this way - that there was something recognisable as intelligence. The present-day critique of traditional intelligence tests is far more doubtful and claims that these tests may have measured class and verbal articulacy rather than intelligence as such.³⁵⁷

By the mid 1960s, the Guild of Service was already moving away from intelligence testing in favour of a more open-ended assessment by social workers. This must in part be explained by the departure of two key figures in the agency who had developed and carried out the tests - Dr McWhinnie left in 1962, and Madeline Carriline (a qualified psychologist and social worker) left in 1964.

But other factors are equally significant. There was a growing unease amongst agency social workers about the process of testing. Some found the testing "arrogant" and felt uncomfortable about doing the tests.³⁵⁸ More crucially, questions were being asked in the agency and in the social work world about what the assessment process was for - "there was no use constructing elaborate selection procedures if we didn't know what we were *selecting for*."³⁵⁹ Concern in adoption therefore shifted from selection to outcome - to what happens to children after adoption placement. The Guild of Service set up post-adoption groups for parents to find out how adoption was working out in practice, bringing together parents whose adoptive children were at different ages and stages.³⁶⁰

Here we find again the competition for dominant position taking place between different sets of psy ideas and practices. As social work moved away from the search for the "absolutes" of psychometrics and intelligence testing, so it looked sympathetically towards new ideas emanating from behaviourism and social learning theory. By the mid 1960s, the radical, progressive thinking, exemplified by the work of David Kirk and others³⁶¹ was gaining ascendancy, and the concept of "selection" for adoption was shifting towards the seemingly more egalitarian notion of "preparation" for adoption. At the same time, there was a discrediting in social work of the

idea that a "match" was feasible or even desirable in adoption. Attempts to place children with parents of similar colouring/ physique/ background and intelligence were discredited on the basis that they led to unrealistic attitudes on the part of parents, and encouraged a denial of the child's origins and past.

Social work did not take on board these new concepts in a vacuum, however. They were social work's way of coming to terms with, and keeping up with the socio-economic and cultural changes which were taking place within the client-group and within society. Already by the mid 1960s, the supply of healthy white babies for adoption was showing signs of decreasing. As contraception and abortion became more readily available, and as it became financially more viable and morally more acceptable to choose to be a single parent, the trend towards less babies being placed for adoption continued. Agencies had to face up to the reality of placing babies and children previously considered "unadoptable", and although overall adoption figures remained high till the late 1960s (see Figure 5 Adoption Placements, Family Care/Scotland), "hard-to-place" children took up an increasing proportion of these cases. Adoption placement of "hard-to-place" children (some of whom had medical problems ; others who were black ; and older children whose history and past could not be ignored) meant that the old methods of selection and matching no longer worked adequately, and

new ones had to be found. (See Figure 6 Hard to Place Adoptions, Family Care)

7.4 Psycho-analysis and Social Work

The influence of psycho-analysis on social work has been a much contested professional issue. Wootten (1959) claims that practically the whole profession had succeeded in "changing the garments of charity for a uniform borrowed from the practitioners of psycho-analysis."³⁶² Timms (1962) was less convinced. He argues :-

"Psycho-analysis has been used not so much as a source of techniques, of ways of working, but of ways of increasing our understanding of people."³⁶³

Yelloly's (1980) in-depth study of social work theory and psycho-analysis concludes that it is essential to distinguish between the contribution of psycho-analysis to the understanding of human behaviour and emotional life, and its contribution to the methodology of social work. She continues :-

"Its impact on the former has in my view been by far the greatest ; the treatment techniques of psycho-analysis lie well outside what social work regards as its territorial waters. It must be acknowledged however that counselling methods intended to promote growth and greater autonomy through self-awareness (ultimately psycho-analytically derived) have been

given special weight, and it appears that the treatment model has been given special eminence."³⁶⁴

These are the areas which I will be looking for in my case-study of Family Care. Is there evidence of a total take-over by the psycho-analytic discourse? Or rather, was the adoption of psycho-analytic ideas related more to theoretical assessment of problems and clients than to actual intervention? What derivations of psycho-analytic thought can be found - for example, in the broad generalisations like "presenting problems" - and how far is the treatment model a reality in social work practice?

Before answering these specific questions, I should briefly record the main postulates of psycho-analytic theory and practice. I am indebted here to Yelloly (1980)³⁶⁵ for the following resume of the main themes of the classical psycho-analytic approach. Yelloly identifies four basic postulates in Freud's theories :-

- 1) the concept of the unconscious mind and unconscious mental processes - the major part of mental life is held to be unconscious, and unconscious processes are believed to powerfully influence behaviour;
- 2) psychic determinism - behaviour is never accidental. If the underlying process can be understood, then all behaviour can be seen to have meaning.
- 3) the fundamental role of sexuality (particularly

infantile sexuality) as a driving force in human behaviour and the development of behaviour;

4) the presence of mental conflict as an essential characteristic of human life - the mind is not a unity, but is made up of elements constantly in conflict with one another. We all experience this, and a neurosis is seen as an unsuccessful or maladaptive attempt to deal with this conflict.

In its traditional Freudian form, the psycho-analytic model led to a perception of people as unique, psychological personalities. Individual needs and motives, which were defined in terms of instinctual, unconscious drives, were seen as being met through the operation of ego defense mechanisms. Difficulty arose when attempts to resolve ever-present mental conflict were unsuccessful. Treatment in Freudian terms entailed taking the patient on a voyage into their unconscious, to search for the origins of the present difficulty, through techniques of dream analysis, free association, transference and interpretation.

But psycho-analysis did not end with Freud - the psycho-discourse as it impinged on social work was not a one-dimensional, pure discourse. On the contrary, it reflected and participated in all the internal debates and re-workings which took place in and around psycho-analysis, psychology, and psychiatry, and all the

external controversy around social welfare, sociology and social work.

Psycho-analysis grew out of, and remained in competition with psychology. In the early twentieth century, psycho-analysis and individual psychology fought side-by-side for acceptance both within and outwith their field. Arguments raged within psychology about the relative merits of "scientific" methods of the laboratory setting as against the "imprecise" psycho-analysis of the consulting room. Psycho-analytic theory was not readily accepted even within the discipline of psychiatry. There was a group of psychiatrists, the organically based school of British Psychiatry represented by Dr. Mapother at the Maudsley Hospital in London who rejected outright all the tenets and methods of psycho-analysis, whichever form it took.

During Freud's life, and after his death in 1939, constant developments and debates pushed and pulled psycho-analysis in all directions. There was a great deal of criticism of Freud's theories, particularly of his insistence on the centrality of the sex instinct as the root cause of all psychological disturbances. Some analysts, notably Jung and Adler, split with Freud completely and set up their own schools of psycho-analysis. Others took what they saw as useful in Freud's thinking and abandoned the rest. Later there was also a

battle between Anna Freud (and the "German school") and Melanie Klein (and the "English school") over the "true" interpretation of Freud's views. Klein argued that she was simply developing Freud's ideas; Anna Freud saw her as diverging completely from them.

The most influential developments as far as British social work is concerned have been those around the "English school" of Melanie Klein, John Fairbairn, D.W. Winnicott and John Bowlby. It is this version of the psycho-analytic approach which was taught on psychiatric, medical and later childcare social work courses throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and against which there was a great reaction with the development of systems theory in the 1960s and radical social work approaches in the 1970s.

Klein, Bowlby and Winnicott and others were interested in the earliest growth of the ego through the development of relationships in the infant's immediate environment - most significantly, the relationship with the mother. Each analyst had her/his own specific contribution to make to this basic theme, but they all agreed that the reasons for unhappiness and difficulty in adult life could be found in poor and unsatisfying relationships in very early childhood ; that the very early years were therefore critical for the development of a sense of identity and self-worth as a human being. During and

after the Second World War, Kleinian-type theories were promulgated through the medium of radio broadcasts, magazines and books on child-rearing practices. Bowlby went so far as to suggest that the separation of a young child from her/his mother or mother-substitute was likely to cause lasting psychic damage to the child.³⁶⁶ These were the ideas which social work, struggling to create its knowledge-base as an independent and worthwhile profession, was to adopt and "sell" as its own. (See Chapter Eight : **Women and the Social Work Task**)

7.5 The Psy Discourse and Family Care - the influence of Psycho-analysis

(i) Setting the Scene - the Early Casework Approach

Up to the late 1950s, there is no evidence in written records or from my tape-recorded interviews, of any psycho-analytic influence whatsoever in Family Care (then the Guild of Service.) The vocabulary used to describe the work contains no mention of "id" or "ego" ; there is no hint of an interest in the relationship between the social worker and the service-user ; of hidden mental processes and unconscious motivations ; or even of an interest in feelings to any extent. All of this was to come later.

Agency records leave no trace of the emotional side of the work. Case record cards state the brief facts :-
"baby went to Mrs x, foster mother" - and it is to the

heart-breaking letters which we must turn for evidence of the trauma experienced by the women giving up babies for adoption. There are countless examples of letters written by birth mothers asking for progress reports on their children, and expressing at the same time deep gratitude to the caseworkers for making the arrangements for them. There are also instances when an unmarried mother who refused to give up her baby was treated less than sympathetically by the agency. In 1923, one such example is described as "giving a good deal of trouble."³⁶⁷

Caseworkers accorded with my analysis of written material. During interviews, they acknowledged that the work could be difficult and sad. But they did not express this in psycho-analytic terms, and had no knowledge and understanding of concepts such as "transference" or "insight".

Nevertheless, the agency's work had been changing, moving away from campaigning and legislative work towards a more individualised, casework service to unmarried mothers and their children. (See Chapters Four and Six) During the 1920s and 1930s, an increasing proportion of the caseworkers' time was being taken up with women with illegitimate pregnancies. The client in these situations was always the unmarried mother ; the problem was the unplanned pregnancy. This was very practical work - the

caseworker was in effect a "manager" and a go-between, handling the negotiations and arrangements on behalf of unmarried mothers. It was the caseworker's task not only to make suitable arrangements for the first child, but to prevent further unwanted pregnancies - the policy of encouraging unmarried mothers to maintain contact with, and to provide for the upkeep of their children was a large part of this strategy. The client was defined in moral terms - she lacked "self-control" and "discipline", or she had been exploited by an unscrupulous man. While attention was given to the physical needs of her baby (its need for clothing and shelter), there was little attention paid in the early years to the emotional life of the baby, or to the relationship between the baby and its carers.

(ii) Shifts in Policy and Practice

One of the biggest shifts which took place in the agency's history can be described as a shift in focus from the needs of women to the needs of children. During and after the Second World War, there is evidence of an increasing awareness of, and concern for the needs of children, as I have already described in terms of psychological ideas derived from child development. Agency planning and decision-making began to address for the first time the needs of children separately from their parents. Children became clients in their own right ; new ideas stressed the special significance of early childhood experiences and relationships as

important in determining future life-patterns, levels of criminality and emotional maturity.

It was out of this climate of opinion that the Guild of Service shifted away from the boarding-out of illegitimate children towards long-term residential care, and even more significantly in terms of the number of children concerned, towards adoption. The impact of the Second World War, higher numbers of illegitimate pregnancies and new knowledge about the emotional needs of children meant that adoption came to be considered the solution "in the best interests of the child". And the work of Bowlby and others, emphasising the importance of the early years and "bonding", stressed that the best adoptions were those carried out as early as possible in the child's life.³⁶⁸ The Guild of Service gradually shifted from being an agency which carried out only last-resort adoptions in the 1940s to being an agency in the 1960s where adoption became the greatest part of its work. At the same time, its two children's homes opened in 1947 and 1953 were run on the principle of being large, stable families in which the children could expect to spend their childhoods.³⁶⁹ (See Chapter Eight - **Women and the Social Work Task**)

(iii) **Psy Discourse and Assessment**

Psycho-analytic ideas have had a crucial part to play in determining the way in which social workers have made assessments of their clients and their problems, that is

in enabling social workers to classify and divide their clients and their problems.³⁷⁰

Case-files from the 1960s and 1970s illustrate the direct application of selective psycho-analytic knowledge and ideas in the process of assessing clients' needs and problems. Clients are no longer defined in moral terms. Instead, new psycho-analytic terminology is used to describe clients. A pregnant woman in 1968 is described as going through an "identity crisis" ; another is said to have had a "neurotic illness in the past" ; another in 1972 is described as being in a "phantasy situation". In many cases, the achievement of "insight" is held to be the primary goal in intervention.

It is impossible with retrospect to know how well the caseworkers understood the terminology which they were using, and how far these terms were popular slogans rather than providing a sound base from which they were working. It is certainly the case, however, that files written by student social workers were much more likely to show this kind of assessment, indicating the value placed on psycho-analytic interpretations by contemporary social work courses.³⁷¹

A general phenomenon throughout the case-files is the ever-present concern for the client's childhood and family background. Sometimes this attitude is expressed

directly - for example in 1968 a caseworker claims that the relationship between the pregnant girl and her parents "is vital in terms of becoming a secure adult". More often, it is not put into words at all, but forms part of the value-base and hidden assumptions from which the worker is functioning.³⁷²

Agency assessment procedures enshrined the new conceptualisation of the importance of feelings, relationships and early childhood experiences. In 1959 the old system of record cards and daybook was replaced by a system of case-files on each client. Files included a full referral form, detailing not only the reasons for referral, but a "family background" (history) which contained information about parents, siblings and relationship with putative father. (The "taking of a history" was itself regarded as a potentially therapeutic exercise.) The casenotes which followed were lengthy descriptions of meetings with clients, and encompassed everything from factual details of the case to a great deal of impressionistic material about the client's feelings, the worker's feelings, and the relationship between the worker and the client. What the caseworker "thinks"/"believes"/"feels" was now seen as relevant information, and there was a lot of attention paid to creating the "right kind of relationship" which would be satisfying to both the worker and the client.³⁷³

We can also see evidence of a shift in focus away from what were regarded as "presenting" problems (unwanted pregnancy, homelessness, poverty) towards "underlying" problems - the *real*, underlying problems, which may or may not be known to the client, but which the expert social worker or therapist was able to uncover. The social work literature of the time is full of assertions about the hidden motives of the unmarried mother.

Leontine Young's³⁷⁴ study published in 1954 became a classic example of this tradition. Young argued that young women who had illegitimate children acted *purposefully*. They wanted an out-of-wedlock child but not a husband, because they were emotionally sick and immature. The cause of this immaturity was held to be most frequently their mothers' domination of them.

This matches with Donzelot's analysis of the subjects of social work discourse.³⁷⁵ In examining case-records, he discovers :-

"... under a thin psychological layer, a more substantive vocabulary soon emerges, one richer in economico-moral connotations, which makes it possible to identify the main poles of social life on which the action of the services is focused."³⁷⁶

He finds at work a system of three major constellations of client-groups - significantly, in spite of the ethics of individualising cases. He describes these as

unstructured families, which the social worker will try to convert or destroy ; normally constituted but rejecting or overly protective families, in which the social worker will ascribe blame to one parent (as in Young's earlier example) ; and deficient families, which require social aid.

We can readily find examples of this typology at work in Guild of Service case-files. Young women who are pregnant are often regarded as having come from what is later referred to as "chaotic" families. In other cases, parents are seen as critically responsible for the unwanted pregnancies of their offspring. (In 1966, a pregnant woman is described by her caseworker as "very insecure". The worker writes that she "tried to find out where the feelings of insecurity may stem from, by discussing the relationship with her parents.") Most of the Guild of Service's clients, however, may be viewed as Donzelot's deficient families - they were deficient of a father, a husband and a breadwinner - and much of the agency's work was concerned with supporting/ controlling these families, or placing their children for adoption in what was regarded as non-deficient families, that is, conventional nuclear families.

The incorporation of psy into assessment at the Guild of Service may be regarded finally as something of a double-edged sword. Clients would have had reason to be

grateful that their behaviour was no longer judged as "bad" or "immoral", and it seems likely that the attention given to emotional and feelings aspects would have been experienced as generally positive and valuing. But the new approach to assessment implied that far more of the clients' lives and behaviour was under scrutiny than before - their unconscious as well as their conscious motivations were open for examination and potential control.

Foucault³⁷⁷ describes this examination as a "normalising gaze", a surveillance which makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. This is not punishment in the conventional sense only of physical punishment, but is the disciplinary punishment which Foucault regards as essentially corrective. That is, it refers to the procedures we adopt which enable us to get people to do what we wish them to do - in the social work context, this may be the casework relationship or other forms of intervention. In other words, the psy discourse allowed social work to create a whole new field of potential clients - those who were disturbed as well as those who were bad - and to introduce new techniques for helping and controlling them.

(iv) Psy Discourse and Intervention

Yelloly (1980) states that social work has never attempted to seriously carry out psycho-analytic treatment methods - dream analysis, free association,

transference and interpretation. Psycho-analysis is a long and arduous process, which could never be a realistic action theory for social workers.³⁷⁸

This analysis is borne out by Family Care case-material. Casenotes more than anything else indicate the very practical, down-to-earth nature of the social work task. However a caseworker might have chosen to conceptualise a case or set of underlying problems, the actual job itself entailed a high level of practical activities and arrangement-making, just as it had done in the earlier days of moral welfare. If the baby was to be placed for adoption, then the caseworker would be responsible for organising forms, medicals, intelligence tests, adoption panel meetings, collection of the infant, baby clothes etc - there would have been little time or opportunity for reflection or insight-giving.

But there is another dimension here - that is, the client's ability to determine the kind of service she received. Although the Guild of Service did not set out to be an agency which fore-fronted clients' rights - on the contrary, as a "professional" social work agency it was more likely to impress the social workers' views than those of the clients - nevertheless, there is always a degree to which social work intervention is determined and set by clients, not social workers. This is especially the case in a voluntary social work agency

such as this one, which clients are under no obligation to attend, or to continue to work with the social workers. It seems very likely that service-users will have had a profound effect in mediating potential excesses of psy discourse. This is illustrated in a case from the early 1970s.³⁷⁹ A social worker fired with excitement about the possibilities offered by Gestalt theory asked her client's permission to use Gestalt methods with her. The client agreed, but soon after missed appointments and for a time ceased contact with the agency. Subsequent intervention was of a practical nature, involving financial help towards a holiday for herself and her child.

Another case reflects the gap between social worker's conceptualisation and actual intervention.³⁸⁰ An ex-caseworker described to me in an interview the "fairly intensive psycho-dynamic work"³⁸¹ she had carried out with a single parent. She suggested to me that she had encouraged her client to look back to her own childhood to discover the origins of her present difficulties with her child, and to use the relationship with herself as caseworker to explore her relationships with others. When I cross-referenced this in the relevant case-file, I found no record of this work, and instead uncovered a steady stream of problems over electricity disconnection, eviction and another illegitimate pregnancy. This does not, of course, imply that the relationship work had not

taken place. Rather, that it took place in the context of the practical, here-and-now crises which affecting the life of the service-user - crises which had to be tackled at the same time as the more psy-influenced work.

Dr. Shenkin, a psychiatrist, addressing a conference on unmarried mothers in 1967 expressed very clearly the limitations of a psy approach :-

"The unmarried mother has to make many decisions and any technique which helps her to participate in these decisions is of special value. I would be wary of a routine psychiatric approach based on uncovering the infantile past at the expense of neglecting the real difficulties in the present."³⁸²

Other changes which affected the character and nature of the social work intervention can be understood as related to the increasing bureaucratic and professional demands in the agency and in social work. One of the developments which accompanied professionalisation was an attempt to standardise the service - to create systems and procedures which all social workers would follow, and which would guarantee a certain minimum standard of intervention. Case-files, systems of recording, practice procedures were minutely worked out, reflecting a much greater concern for regulatory, statutory and legal requirements than for emotional, or psychological techniques.³⁸³ This change must again be placed in the

context of the increasing incorporation of the social work task into the welfare state. Although this agency was a voluntary one, it was increasingly governed by systems and procedures which were statutory ones.

This trend has increased and become more prominent in recent years. Concerns about public disquiet and professional incompetence raised by a series of child abuse enquiries has prompted social work to stress much more the importance of following regulations and laid-down procedures which may take little account of the psycho-analytic world of the client. Instead, the emphasis in the procedures has been on protecting the social worker and the agency from recrimination should things go wrong - ensuring that adequate and appropriate steps have been taken to prevent danger to the agency as well as to the child.³⁸⁴

There was one setting however where psycho-analytic techniques were unapologetically experimented with - the residential setting. It is to Edzell Lodge in the 1970s that we must turn to find deliberate attempts to turn new psy ideas and theories into practice - ideas drawn from the contemporary psy preoccupations with behaviour modification, psychotherapy, psychodrama and transactional analysis.

While at Edzell Lodge, children were expected to work with individual staff and social workers on "life-history books", building up a picture of their past and present lives. They also worked in groups with other children, using role-play, puppets and arts and crafts materials as a way of getting in touch with their feelings and at the same time acting out and rehearsing difficult situations. The general environment of the Home was intended to be as "free" as possible. Children were encouraged to express their feelings and if necessary, to temporarily "regress" - babies' bottles and comfort blankets and toys ("transitional objects") were available with this in mind. There was no physical punishment in the Home. Instead, "token economy" systems such as star charts were introduced as re-enforcers of desired behaviour, for example to help with bed-wetting. Really difficult behaviour was dealt with either by withdrawing privileges, such as taking cash from pocket money to pay for a broken item, or "holding" children until they came out of a temper-tantrum.

Underpinning this work was an assumption that there is a normal, healthy pattern of development in childhood, and that children who have for some reason been unable to develop in this way, need time to go back before they can recover emotionally.³⁸⁵ There was also a strong belief in the therapeutic value of play - play is seen as

purposeful, very much related to the child's inner mental and emotional processes.

Significantly, all this psy activity was carried out under the careful supervision and support of child psychologists and psychiatrists from the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh. Even here, social workers were not expected to be the psy experts. Others were called in to meet this demand.

The experience of Edzell Lodge underlines the eclectic nature of social work practice - the way social work has borrowed and tried out different pieces of theory and practice and used them in different settings at different times. The history of Edzell Lodge is also evidence of the fact that old discourses do not necessarily disappear when new ones come along to take their place. Edzell Lodge is a story of continuity alongside change. New psycho-analytic language and method could be seen alongside older, very resilient notions to do with how best to bring up children - notions which relied on beliefs such as respect for authority, politeness and good manners, discipline, Christian observance, and service to others. Edzell Lodge up until its closure in 1984 never became a permissive, free-living therapeutic community on the lines of a residential school like Summerhill, set up by A.S. Neill.³⁸⁶

(v) Psy Discourse and the Treatment Model

One of the criticisms which is most frequently made of the psycho-analytic approach in social work is that it is based on a treatment model - a model which uses quasi-medical terminology and which is grounded in assumptions about pathology, sickness, symptoms and underlying problems. (cf Conrad and Schneider, 1980³⁸⁷) Problems are located within the individual, and it is the task of the expert practitioner to locate the underlying causes (social diagnosis) and to treat the problem (through the casework relationship.) Behaviour is seen as largely determined - by very early childhood experiences ; and by unconscious motivations, feelings and desires. Therefore maladaptive behavior, such as criminality or mental illness, is viewed as a manifestation of some deeper disturbance which must be treated in order for the client to recover/to take up a useful place in society.

I believe that three different points must be made here. Firstly, Yelloly (1980) suggests that this model could only be used in limited circumstances - that many social work activities such as social advocacy or broker functions do not use a medical model ; and that it may not fit the requirements of the statutory, authority relationship which is implicit in many other social work functions, such as receiving a child into care, or acting as a probation officer.³⁸⁸

Secondly, it is open to question how far a medical model has been adopted at all in social work practice. Johnstone (1988)³⁸⁹ in an analysis of the psychiatric approach to crime, argues that psychiatric conceptions of delinquency bear only a weak relationship to medically founded knowledge. Instead, he claims that theories informing psychiatric interventions owe much more allegiance to environmentalist notions, and that treatment is more likely to be of a moral than a medical nature. He goes on to suggest that notions of underlying causes are not specifically medical notions - they might better be described as "scientific" than medical attitudes.

As for the social work context, I believe that social work borrowed the language and ideas of psy discourse without necessarily implying a whole-hearted shift to a medical model. The parallels between psy casework and moral welfare are clearly evident. Both discourses assumed that problems should be located in the context of the individual and her/his surroundings - in COS casework understanding, this meant the individual in her/his environment ; psy theory was more concerned with the impact of past events and relationships on the individual. Both discourses held that individuals had the capacity for change and self-improvement, though one urged institutional correction while the other surveillance and supervision at home. And the principal

aim in casework retained its moral underpinning in both discourses - both aimed to prevent a second illegitimate pregnancy. Though the reasons for illegitimate pregnancy were expressed differently (that is, lack of self-discipline or exploitation versus unconscious motives and personal neuroses), the social work method was strikingly similar in each case. A social history was taken, outlining either strengths and weaknesses in the present situation in one model or significant events and past relationships in the other. The outcome of the case in both perspectives is seen to rely heavily on the relationship between the social worker and the client (viewed as a potential for modelling good behaviour or as a tool for exploring present and past relationship difficulties.) Again, for both psycho-analytic and traditional casework, the concepts and theories afforded a way of enabling the social workers concerned to identify with, to understand and to accept their clients.³⁹⁰

This takes me to the third point I wish to make on the medicalisation of social work thesis. The psy perspective which informed and negotiated with the social work task between the 1930s and 1970s was not itself a pure discourse. It contained selective borrowings from psychology (principally psychometrics and social learning theory and behaviourism³⁹¹) and from psycho-analysis (including concepts from competing psycho-analytic

schools, and from offshoots of psycho-analysis such as existential or humanist psychology and interactionist psychology.³⁹²) It ignored psycho-analytic and psychological ideas which did not fit or seem useful, such as perception or the sexual instinct. And its take-up was quite patchy and arbitrary - it was dependent upon current teaching on social work courses ; on the professional preferences of individual social workers and social work managers ; and on the views of the lay members who sat on committees in the agency and monitored agency practice. It was dependent too, as I have already stated, upon clients' willingness to be worked with in this way.

(vi) Psy Discourse under Siege

Even supposing we accept that there was a time when psy ideas reigned supreme in social work in Britain, this period was undoubtedly short-lived. By the 1960s and 1970s there was an attempt to bring together the various strands into one "unitary" approach based on a theoretical framework drawn from systems theory.³⁹³ Here environmental ideas were put together with psy notions to reach an understanding of human behaviour based on a conceptualisation of inter-connecting systems of family, community and society. Change was now related to planning and structuring of goals through a "problem-solving" approach, rather than through the giving of insight as an isolated activity.

And radical social work theory and practice emerged around the same time.³⁹⁴ Social work was criticised for being pathological, class ridden, and part of the social control mechanisms of society. Solutions were to be found in making alliances with working-class clients by working with them in their communities to provide the services they required ; to empower them to make effective demands and to challenge the status quo. Community work approaches were held to be more helpful in this context than casework with individuals and families.

Social work as it is carried out in statutory and voluntary organisations today reflects a host of different assumptions and ideas. In spite of attempts to create a generic social work practice, social work remains a very variable activity, which has its theoretical and ideological roots in a wide variety of discourses. Psy ideas have largely been relegated however to background material - important in connection with understanding our own values and attitudes, but less central to actual social work practice. Today systems approaches are again in vogue, along with a strong emphasis on the practical tasks of social work - what CCETSW calls the "competences" which each social work student must evidence at the point of qualification.³⁹⁵ The bureaucratic, legalistic language of child protection and case management places far more stress on contracts and procedures than on relationships and insight.

7.6 The Meaning of the Psy Discourse in Social Work

I am very clear that there was no simple "psychiatric deluge" in social work in the 1950s or at any other time. Assuming that there was no "psychiatric deluge" in social work, what did actually happen? What can we learn from social work's willingness to embrace some of the new psychological and psycho-analytic ideas? And what about the existing social work discourses which proved resistant to change? For the answers to these questions, I return to the conceptual framework of Michel Foucault.

The psy discourse appeared in social work at a time when social work was professionalising itself - it was actively seeking knowledge and methods which it could develop as its own and that could become its specific area of expertise. (See Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work**) The new ideas emerging from the child guidance clinics and consulting rooms fitted with social work's view of itself - that it was personal service, carried out by individual caseworkers who were experts in their own field, and targetted at the problems of individuals and families.

The psy discourse did not therefore simply provide an explanatory framework and a set of ideas which social workers were seeking. Rather it provided a perspective which would back-up and support existing concepts and

methods. But there is more to the picture than this. Social work, psychology and psycho-analysis were all struggling at this time to have their status and their theories recognised and accepted in the professional world inside and outside their disciplines. For social work, this meant rejecting existing theories and methods as "unprofessional", and laying out clear boundaries about who was, and who was not allowed to practice social work - in Foucault's language, "who is allowed to speak?"

Within Family Care, we can see the arrival of two distinct kinds of "experts" on the social work scene. The "social work experts" were the caseworkers and social workers themselves - committee members were no longer allowed to visit clients or befriend children. The "psycho-analytic experts" were the psychiatrists and psychologists who were engaged to be professional advisors, assessors and therapists with particular children, and trainers within the agency. And there was a significant change in the "institutional sites" - the places where social work was carried out. Street patrolling and casual home-visiting was overtaken by a formal appointment system, serving both office interviews and home-visits.

Over and above the professional implications, the psycho-analytic discourse had a very specific role to play in enabling a shift to take place both in the "objects" of

the social work discourse and in the "strategies and solutions" which it set out to achieve. Put very simply, the psy discourse smoothed the transition taking place between the adult as object to the child. During this period, children's needs came to be seen as separate from parents' needs for the first time. Children were seen as individual, psychological beings differentiated from their parents. Aligned with this was a set of assumptions about what children's needs were, and how best these could be met. Families were held to be best for children, and special kinds of families at that - that is, with two parents, and with mother as primary carer, based at home. The policy changes in adoption and residential work in Family Care bear witness to this change. (See Chapter Eight : **Women and the Social Work Task**)

But of course this shift was far bigger than just in social work terms. The gradual reconstruction can be seen as part of a much wider development taking place this century, seen in the eugenics movement and later in the social welfare strategies, a development which has sought to find new, more efficient, "scientific" ways to organise and control society's members. This takes us back to the political implications behind the various discourses - discourse is the place, as Foucault says, where power and knowledge come together.³⁹⁶

What the psy discourse has made possible, above all, is a specific way of understanding human beings and human problems. The significance of this can be interpreted both positively and negatively. Jones (1979) argues that psycho-analytic theory permitted a shift to a "softer" approach to problem families who had earlier been considered as part of the irredeemable and undeserving residuum. At the same time, however, it legitimated a greater degree of state interference in family life through the welfare agencies, on the grounds that if children could be socialised from an early age, then the costly cycle of deprivation could be broken.³⁹⁷ Donzelot (1980)³⁹⁸ describes this two-sided strategy as part of "the policing of families."

7.7 Summary

In summary, the psy discourse as it communicated with and influenced social work was not a static, neutral, ahistorical entity. Psychology, psycho-analysis and psychiatry were changing, at the same time as social work was changing, and neither can be understood outwith the context of their past and present. And social work did not take on board all the assumptions and practices of psychoanalysis - values and attitudes were adopted far more readily than psycho-analytic techniques.³⁹⁹

At the same time, other discourses working in a quite opposite direction have been equally significant in the

formation of the social work task. The post-war social democratic spirit which set out to dismantle the Poor Law - to move away from individual solutions and to introduce in their place services to every citizen as of right - brought with it the notion of social welfare. Social work has increasingly been incorporated into the vision of the welfare state, and has had to meet ever-strengthening bureaucratic and legal requirements as a result. Social work courses have therefore continued to teach social welfare and the law alongside the psycho-analytic concepts which have tended to inform the teaching of human growth and behaviour. More recently, concerns from government and employers about the knowledge and practice skills of social workers have led to a new focus in social work training on "competences" - practical intervention has replaced the more esoteric, psy style in social work practice.⁴⁰⁰

Are we to believe, finally, that the psy discourse has been a liberating force in society - an illustration of the positive capacities of power as envisaged by Foucault and Donzelot? I prefer to take a more cautious stance. The psy discourse in social work may have encouraged social workers to sympathise with clients more, and judge them less. And psy theory has obviously enriched the knowledge base of social work, and increased its repertoire of skills and practices. But the psy discourse, offering as it does explanations based on

individuals and individual problems will always be a conservative discourse. It sets out to fit people to society, not to change society.

In the face of the predominance of the psy discourse, other strategies and solutions in social work have been marginalised - the settlement movement tradition and the ideas of "practicable socialism" both suffered in this way. The psy discourse has nothing to add to the debates about poverty, injustice and inequality in society. This is of vital importance when the greatest proportion of social work's clients are poor, working-class women.

Figure 5
 number of adoption placements
 guild of service/family care, and Scotland as a whole

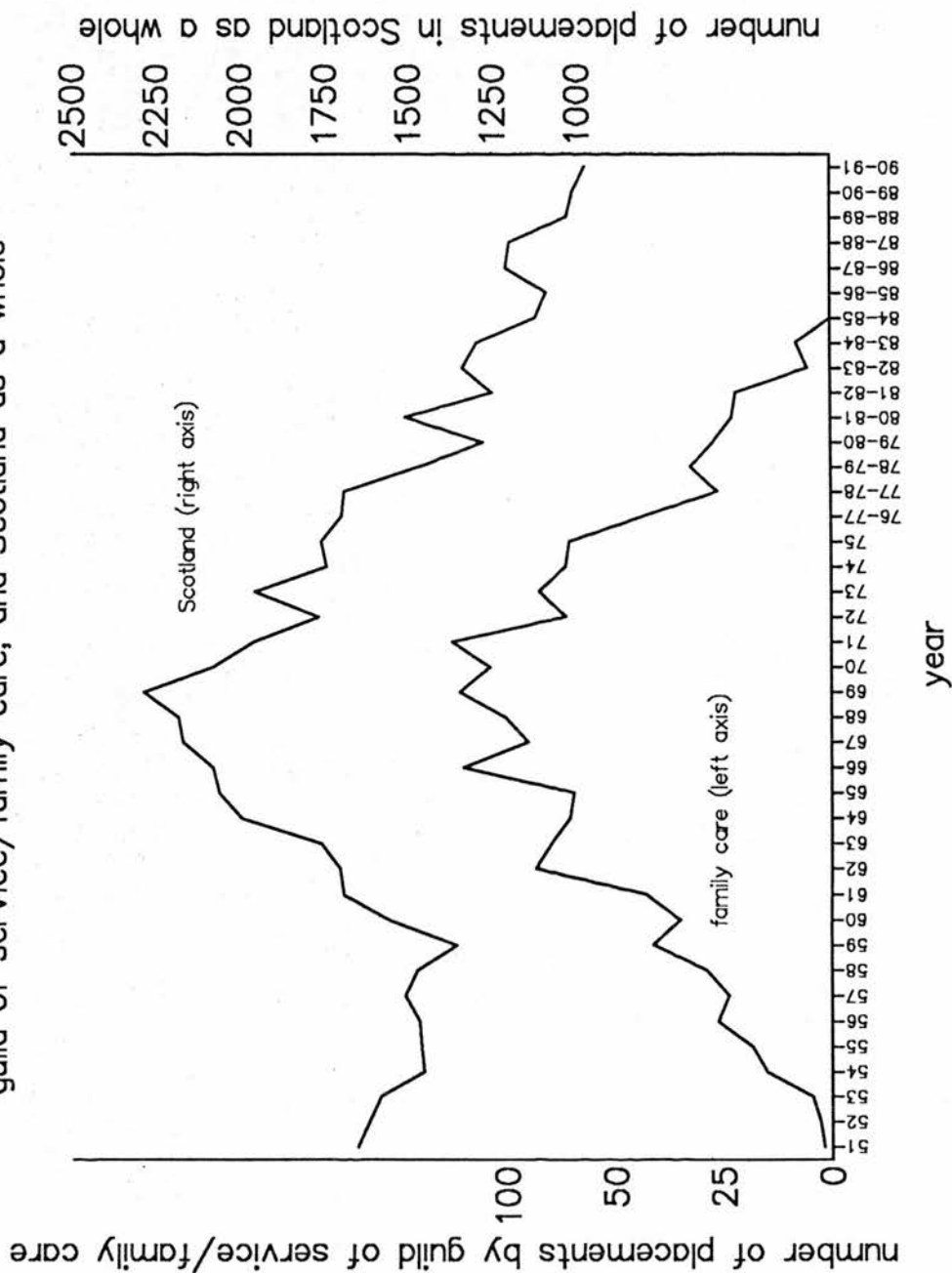


Figure 5 - Notes

1. Sources - Guild of service/Family Care Annual Reports and Registrar General for Scotland Annual Report, 1990, Figure T1.3

Edinburgh : General Register Office

2. This figure shows that Family Care's adoption figures broadly paralleled the general picture of adoptions throughout Scotland as a whole.

3. Early adoptions in this agency were rare, largely because agency policy was that adoptions should only be carried out as a last resort. Records suggest that between the 1930s and 1950s, perhaps 2 or 3 adoptions were carried out each year.

4. In 1954 the agency became a registered Adoption Society for the first time, hence the rise in figures from then on.

5. In 1980-81, it was agreed with Lothian Regional Council Social Work Department that Family Care should give up baby adoption and concentrate on finding homes for older and "hard to place" children - an area of work in which the agency had considerable experience already.

6. By 1984-85, the Social Work Department had taken over the "hard to place" homefinding. Over the next 2 years, Family Care still carried out occasional assessments of prospective adopters on behalf of the Social Work Department, and still supported pregnant women whose babies were ultimately placed with adoptive couples provided by Scottish Adoption Society.

7. In 1982, Family Care developed an adoption counselling service for all those involved in the adoption "triangle" - adoptive parents, adoptive children and birth parents. By 1986-87, this service completely replaced the adoption and homefinding work.

8. Also from 1986-87 onwards, all pregnant women considering adoption were referred directly to Scottish Adoption Association.

Figure 6 Hard to Place Adoptions, Guild of Service/Family Care, 1955-1982

Year	Hard to Place Children	White Healthy Babies	Total
1955	0	30	30
1960	2	38	40
1965	5	63	68
1970	5	85	90
1975	10	59	69
1980	17	9	26
1982	6	0	6

Figure 6 - Notes

1. Source - Guild of Service/Family Care Annual Reports and Adoption Case-books.

2. This figure should be viewed alongside Figure 5, which shows statistics for adoption placement in the agency as a whole.

3. Note the way in which "hard to place" adoptions take over from the adoption of "white healthy" babies.

4. Note also that this agency was involved in the placement of what were then called "unadoptable" children from a very early stage - children who had minor birth defects or handicap ; who were "coloured" (black children) ; and children who were no longer babies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WOMEN AND THE SOCIAL WORK TASK

8.1 Introduction

"Social work has, since the war, played an expanding and highly ideological role. Its emphasis has been directly on the reinforcement of traditional forms of family life; this has in fact been its main purpose within the constellation of welfare services and the reality behind its official role ..."

(Wilson, 1977, pp83-84)⁴⁰¹

"... while (social) work consistent with feminist aims can be carried out, it remains a minority activity set alongside the dominant routines of practice constantly reinforcing the sexist nature and social control role of statutory social work."

(Dominelli and McLeod, 1989, p16)⁴⁰²

The above quotations capture the substance and the spirit of the prominent feminist critique of social work's role within the welfare state. Social workers are presented as actively creating and maintaining women's oppression through the upholding of traditional family values and a patriarchal social order ; social work clients (the majority of whom are women) are viewed as passive, compliant and powerless. Social work is described as fundamentally sexist, and feminist writers have devoted a great deal of attention to evidencing this statement, at

the same time as attempting to explain the gender blindness of much social work literature over the last thirty years or so.

My intention in this chapter is to challenge this one-dimensional, ahistorical picture of social work and the oppression of women in the family. I will do so by examining the inter-connections and correspondences between two important discourses within social work - that is, feminism and familialism. I will argue that we cannot understand one without the other - that feminism has been centrally concerned with the family and the construction of women's role within it. I will also suggest that social work, while inevitably betraying institutional sexism in its organisational structure and day-to-day practice, is not consistently or totally oppressive to women. Women have, in reality, a very contradictory and ambivalent relationship with the social work discourse, which has brought with it opportunities for support and care on the one hand, and surveillance and control on the other. There has therefore been no single, static familialism operating in and through social work practice. Instead, the social work task has been characterised by a shifting perception of what a good and proper family should be.

I will examine this subject in three stages. First, I will explore the gendered, familial strands which were

part-and-parcel of the vigilance movement in particular, and the early feminist movement in general. This historical analysis will dispel any myths about the unity of the feminist cause, and draw attention instead to the oppressiveness of the early feminist cause in terms of its assumptions about, and treatment of working-class women.

Next, I will turn to feminism and familialism in the post-war period, and challenge a number of myths which have become part of the received wisdom about women and social work, and which are currently being debated by a new generation of feminist social workers. These ideas are centred on the perception that feminism collapsed after 1918, and that feminists were somehow misled or fooled into supporting the cause of the welfare state. Leading on from this is the notion that the welfare state exists to subordinate women, through its control of their position as housewives and mothers, and that the main purpose of social work is therefore to reinforce traditional forms of family life. I will suggest that the picture is far more complicated than this - that social work has supported different kinds of family set-up, and that discourses other than familialism have equally contributed to the formation of the social work task.

Finally, I will look at social work in the 1980s and 1990s, a time when feminist social work projects exist side-by-side with a strengthening of managerialist, technocratic, "masculine" social work, and an ever-increasing drive towards "community care" (that is, care which is overwhelmingly carried out by women.)

8.2 The Gendered Task of Social Work in Family Care

Family Care serves as a very useful case-study for examining the complex relationship between women and the social work task because it is an organisation which has in the main, seen itself as a women's agency. Since 1911, it has employed only two male social workers amongst hundreds of women employees, social work and secretarial. All its Directors and senior social workers have been women, although a male Secretary/Treasurer has been in post for ten years.⁴⁰³ Committee members have largely been women, especially in the period post 1945, and strenuous efforts have been made over the last few years to redress this "imbalance." (See Figure 7 Gender Balance of Executive Commee, 1911-1991) The work of the agency has been almost wholly centred around "women's issues" - vulnerable women, illegitimate pregnancy, unmarried motherhood, parenting, children, voluntary service - and as a result most of the agency's clients have been women.

With such a high concentration of women - as service-users, providers and managers - we might expect to find an appreciation of the importance of gender as a constant feature in a way which has been untypical of statutory and some other voluntary settings. What makes the agency of special interest however is that this is not the case. The professionalisation of social work, in this organisation as in other social work settings, was accompanied by a playing down of the importance of gender issues, and a rejection of the idea of social work as a "woman's profession." At the same time it was the needs of children which took centre stage, accompanied by new gendered knowledge and ideas drawn largely from psychoanalysis and psychology.

This shift illustrates a central paradox in social work. Social work is a profession which is gendered through and through, and at the same time is gender-blind.

Assumptions about gender form so much of the common-sense, the practice-wisdom, and the theoretical knowledge of social work that until very recently they have been invisible and therefore unquestioned. Current feminist theorists and practitioners are struggling to put gender back on the agenda in social work. I hope that this chapter will be a contribution to this work.

8.3 Feminism and Gender in the Vigilance Discourse

The vigilance movement, as I described more fully in Chapter Four : **Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement**, contained within in a host of assumptions and attitudes towards men, women and children, and specifically, towards correct sexual behaviour. Vigilance and purity campaigners wanted to re-frame sexual mores - to raise men's sexual and moral behaviour to that of women's; and to protect women and children from the unwanted sexual attention of men. This was a very positive, even liberating message for women - that they should be "free from all uninvited touch of man."⁴⁰⁴ At the same time, it was a discourse which placed women on a pedestal of moral superiority, and which defined women as passive, helpless creatures who required rescuing and protection.

The vigilance movement's concern for exploited women and children was symbolic of its much wider concern for the family and for society. As Prochaska (1980) states :-

"This was to be achieved through legislation against prostitution, incest, homosexuality and pornography. But it was also to be achieved through the smaller scale intervention in the lives of working-class people, through the proliferation of health visiting, district nursing, and social work."⁴⁰⁵

There was no attempt at this time to argue for women's right to control their own sexuality, either in terms of contraception or in terms of sexual permissiveness.

Artificial birth control methods were distrusted, because they would enable men to demand sexual intercourse at any time, and remove one of the few excuses available to women. Most feminists were against "free love" (which at this time meant long-term monogamous relationships) because they were concerned that women would forfeit the little security that was theirs within marriage - men would be free to abandon their partners and their children at will.⁴⁰⁶

Above all, there was no real challenge to the concept of the patriarchal family.⁴⁰⁷ The sexual division of labour within the family was taken for granted, and vigilance campaigners glorified women's role in the family, regarding motherhood as central to women's identity, and identifying their voluntary work as a natural extension of their domestic role. This follows on from a long tradition of women's involvement in philanthropic activities - as visitors, inspectors and befrienders of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned. Women who became involved in public life stressed two factors - that they were bringing with them feminine qualities into a male world - for example, bringing "the mother spirit into politics"⁴⁰⁸ - and that their voluntary work corresponded to their domestic responsibilities :-

"Poor Law work is specially fitted for women ; for it is only domestic economy on a larger scale.

Accustomed to regulate her own house, a lady has had

precisely the training necessary to fit her for a Poor Law Guardian ... Enlarge a household and it becomes a workhouse ..."⁴⁰⁹

The family featured highly in NVA work. Parents referred their wayward offspring to the NVA ; children who ran away from home were taken home as a first option, especially when their parents were considered to be "respectable" ; NVA staff addressed countless mothers' meetings advising them on how to raise their children to be good, decent adults. For those young women whose families were unable to care for them, or whose families were deemed to be undesirable and "bad influences", the vigilance solution was re-training in a residential institution (Magdalene asylum or training hostel) to prepare them to take their place in another family setting - as domestic servants in a middle-class household. Live-in "situations" in private homes were thought to be a good placement for young women because here their movements might be monitored and here they would learn skills which would be useful to them in their future lives as wives and mothers. (Of course, in reality, many women were more at risk of sexual exploitation as servants in middle-class families than they had been in their own perhaps chaotic, poor working-class families.⁴¹⁰) Some women were found lodgings and jobs which were not live-in posts. But there was a preference for jobs in hospitals and shops rather than

factories or farms, which were seen as potential hot-beds of vice and sin.⁴¹¹

The vigilance discourse was, in essence, a conservative discourse, aimed at imposing middle-class standards of childrearing and "decency" on working-class families. Real structural, economic issues to do with poverty and deprivation were viewed as personal failings, to be solved through individualised methods. But here is a massive contradiction within the vigilance and social purity movement. Many of the protagonists were self-avowed feminists, fighting for women's rights to education, employment and the vote. Others may not have called themselves feminists, but they devoted their lives to furthering the cause of women.⁴¹² The vigilance discourse was in fact a potentially very radical one, challenging as it did the power of men over women and children in the family and in society.

Donzelot⁴¹³ offers another way of looking at this. He suggests that through philanthropy in the nineteenth century, middle-class women formed an alliance with doctors and hygienists which enabled them to enter working-class homes and teach working-class women how to be better wives and mothers. While middle-class women were expected to bring up their children in an atmosphere of relative freedom and openness, working-class women were encouraged to be responsible for the control of

movement not just of their children, but also their husbands. In other words, the middle-class sought to impose different values on the working-class - values which were related to their idea of what was appropriate behaviour for working-class people. Therefore the independence of movement, and release from childcare responsibilities which feminist philanthropists sought for themselves would in no way have been a consideration for the working-class women with whom they were working.

An examination of NVA committee members in Edinburgh in the vigilance period throws up a number of famous names from the early feminist movement - women doctors instrumental in campaigning for medical provision for women (Dr. Elsie Ingles, Dr Isabel Venters), women teachers, and most influentially, the President of the NVA (Eastern Division) from 1912 to 1930 was Lady Frances Balfour, executive committee member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Lady Frances Balfour's life (1858-1930) gives us an indication of the kind of feminism which she supported. Frances Balfour was a constitutionalist feminist who relied on political lobbying, especially in gaining the support of the Liberal Party, to achieve her ends. She stood apart from the more radical, disruptive tactics of the Pankhursts, and likewise was wary of the demands of socialist feminists. She saw the suffrage movement and

the vote for women as a way of unlocking doors for women, not as the first step on the road towards righting women's wrongs.⁴¹⁴ In addition to her suffrage work and support for the vigilance cause, she was involved in a wide variety of other campaigns including Irish home rule, free trade, employment rights for women (for example, the rights of barmaids when the temperance lobby tried to prevent women from working in bars), and campaigns for equal divorce rights and improved custody rights for mothers.

Banks (1986)⁴¹⁵ in an analysis of the social origins of the early feminist movement identifies three very different ideologies and traditions in feminism - "equal-rights feminism", with its roots in the Enlightenment, exemplified by Frances Balfour and Elsie Inglis ; "the evangelical movement", which emphasised the need to give women's special and unique qualities more significance in public life, illustrated by Ellice Hopkins and Josephine Butler ; and "socialist feminism" which was to become the main strand within feminism at the end of the nineteenth century, placing its faith on the development of the welfare state.

If the feminist movement as a whole was fragmented, then the suffrage cause - the one strand which all the early feminists supported - was equally so. Rowbotham (1983)⁴¹⁶ suggests that even here, unity was "illusory."

She describes differences of opinion between individuals and groups over strategy and tactics, and above all, very different hopes and aspirations :-

"A suffragette in the Conservative and Unionist Party said it would be a means of ending the White Slave ~~traffic~~ and reducing prostitution. Mrs Pethick Lawrence thought women would be able to reform prisons, improve wardresses' conditions, and transform the economic helplessness of the unsupported mother. Mrs Pankhurst said it would help to end sweated work and improve the training of midwives. Other supporters of women's suffrage ... (believed) that the vote would see women on the road to equal pay!"⁴¹⁷

But the vigilance discourse was far from being simply a feminist discourse. The early committees were made up roughly of 50% men and women, the men being almost exclusively ministers of religion and from the legal profession ; the women tending to be titled or spinsters from upper middle-class Edinburgh families. The make-up of the committees parallels membership of other charities and voluntary organisations which were much less radical in focus of attention, and the interests which committee members brought must have reflected equally their own class position and world-view.⁴¹⁸ The NVA in spite of its risky, unconventional objects, was always a middle-class, conservative organisation, which was not in general critical of class or economic inequalities.

In conclusion, the vigilance period serves as a very useful corrective to any simplistic notion that it is possible to categorise an agency as if it were one single entity somehow apart from historical and existing social relations. This agency was run by middle-class men and women who had a strong emotional investment in controlling the behaviour of young working-class women, and in promoting their view of class and gender relationships in the family. It was equally an organisation in which feminists who wished to protect and defend women from male power had a strong presence. Both of these statements is true, and it is only by holding them together that we can begin to understand the discourses around women which have played (and still play) such an important part in defining and regulating the social work task.

8.4 The Collapse of Feminism?

The idea of two "waves" of feminism, centred on the struggle for the vote (the first wave) and the 1970s Women's Liberation Movement (the second or "new" wave) is popular in feminist writing. Wilson (1983)⁴¹⁹ argues that feminism went into a period of gradual decline after 1918 when women over thirty years of age were given the vote, a decline which lasted until the late 1960s when feminism re-appeared in a new form. She concedes that feminism did not die completely, but she argues that

women were "highjacked" by familial ideology and reformism after the Second World War, devoting their energies to post-war construction, and losing sight of the feminist cause.

Taylor (1983)⁴²⁰ is highly critical of this notion of a silent period between the two "waves" of feminism. She suggests that feminism is best understood as a history of ideas, not a social movement of women. She reminds us that there is not one single feminism, but rather various forms of feminism. Feminism may be an intellectual tendency without a movement, or a strand within very different movements, as we have already seen in the example of the feminist strand within the vigilance discourse.

The brand of feminism which was a vital part of the vigilance tradition certainly did not fade away after 1918. The vigilance campaigns at local and national level continued to reflect a concern for women's rights and women's protection - agitation against "tolerated prostitution" at home and abroad ; pressure for women's representation on government committees⁴²¹ ; investigations into the living and working conditions of "fisher girls" (1920s)⁴²² and "Land Army girls" (1940s)⁴²³; and a protracted struggle waged by the national NVA in London throughout the 1960s for the registration of Employment Agencies.

Although there was a broad measure of agreement amongst vigilance supporters for these "pro-women" campaigns, there was much less consensus about what might be termed the "control" aspects of the vigilance cause. NVA members in Edinburgh and in London could not agree on how to respond to attempts to introduce solicitation laws; nor could they reach agreement on the re-introduction during both World Wars of regulations regarding statutory notification and compulsory examination and treatment for venereal disease. (For more detail on the decline of the vigilance movement, see Chapter Four : **Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement.**)

As the vigilance strand became unpopular in the Edinburgh branch, so did the specifically woman-centred work. This is reflected in the changes in the agency's name as well as its activities. In 1941, the agency swapped its two titles to become The Guild of Service for Women.⁴²⁴ All the new services which were developed in the 1940s and 1950s - two children's homes, a comprehensive fostering and adoption service, a professional casework service for single parent families - grew out of the agency's work with unmarried mothers. But soon, along with a general trend in social work,⁴²⁵ they became services which were concerned first and foremost with the needs of children. Although in 1959 the official title dropped the words "for women", in practice the agency had been known simply

as "the Guild" for many years, and had become a recognised and respected childcare agency.

Riley (1988)⁴²⁶ suggests that feminism became unpopular in 1918 and again in 1945 - that "sex-consciousness" and "sex-antagonism" became deeply perjorative terms, the very antithesis of the comradeship and consensus which everyone wanted to be striving for. My interviews with staff and committee members who had been young adults during the Second World War confirm Riley's perception.⁴²⁷ Only one respondent described herself as a feminist - all the others expressed disapproval of the feminism of the Women's Liberation Movement, and expressed concern about a feminism which they perceived portrayed itself as "anti-men." Yet all these women were strong, confident, educated and middle-class. They did not see themselves as oppressed or discriminated against in any way, and preferred to see themselves as equal but different to men.

The impact of the Second World War seems to have been a crucial factor in this conceptualisation. Respondents described to me what an "eye-opener" their war-time experiences had been. They had come from sheltered, middle-class backgrounds and found themselves thrown into an environment working alongside men and women from very different class and social backgrounds.⁴²⁸ One

respondent vividly claimed that for her generation of young women, life would never be the same again :-

"It opened up a whole different attitude to life, and we hadn't had anything behind us to lead us to that point. We were caught in a little time-capsule, which resulted in us having more open minds we had learnt a lot between 1940 and 1945."⁴²⁹

For this respondent, and for all the women whom I interviewed, there was a sense of purposefulness after the war. A new society had to be built, one in which men and women would take better care of one another, in which class and gender conflicts would be lessened, and children would never again have to undergo the awfulness of wartime neglect and deprivation.

8.5 Feminism and Social Work Post-1945

I believe that although the feminist strand and gender awareness within social work may have become submerged after the Second World War, it did not vanish completely. Instead, women took up the feminist cause in one of two ways - either by working for a solution to the "woman question" through socialist politics, or by striving to professionalise their work as teachers, health visitors and social workers.

Taylor (1983)⁴³⁰ analyses the intermingling of feminism and socialism. She does not claim that all feminists

were socialists or vice-versa, but rather that the "woman question" has been a consistent, periodic feature in socialist politics. Feminists have struggled to get welfare provision which would be supportive and helpful to women and which would meet real needs. This does not, of course, imply that there has been agreement about how to achieve this. For example, Eleanor Rathbone's "endowment of motherhood" campaign was bitterly contested by others who were fighting within the trade union movement for a decent "family wage" for all.

Vera Brittain (1953) expressed some of the hopefulness and idealism of the welfare state :-

"... in it women have become ends in themselves and not merely means to the ends of men. The welfare state has been both cause and consequence of the second great change by which women have moved ... from rivalry with men to a new recognition of their unique value as women."⁴³¹

The feminist strand is also apparent in the struggle to improve working conditions, status and career opportunities within social work. Here the aspirations of women might be realised - aspirations to be allowed to carry out useful work, paid or unpaid ; to achieve the status and recognition in their working lives that they expected to receive in their home lives ; to work alongside male professionals, recognising their special

qualities and unique task as social workers. (See Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work.**)

There was a central paradox in the professionalisation of social work, however. In the movement to upgrade their profession, women developed two key strategies. First, they sought to attract men into the profession, and second, they chose to underplay the specifically feminine qualities which had previously been considered fundamental to their perception of the social work task.

There have always been men and women in social work, but historically they have carried out quite different jobs. Men were traditionally found in arenas which required a measure of control, principally as probation officers, school attendance officers, and civil servants. Women were usually to be found in the "caring" settings, working as almoners, child care officers and moral welfare workers. (See Walton, 1975)⁴³² As social work struggled to professionalise itself, one of the stated priorities was to bring more men into the profession. Younghusband in her review of employment and training requirements of social workers in 1947 illustrates this position. She argues that it is essential to attract men into the service - men who would not be content to start "at the same salary as a good short-hand typist."⁴³³

At the same time, social work practitioners and theoreticians (women and men) fought to move social work away from its old image of a "lady bountiful" kind of service which relied for its knowledge and skills on female intuition and motherly love. Instead, social work was to become more rational, more scientific, more administrative - more *masculine*. (See Chafetz, 1972)⁴³⁴ This shift inevitably strengthened the position of men within social work. Social work teaching institutions (universities and colleges) which were already heavily biased towards male academics appointed disproportionately high numbers of men to the newly-created teaching posts. Later, as welfare services and social work departments grew in size, and social work organisation became more bureaucratic, managerial and administrative, again more men were appointed to the new management posts. This process has been described as a "defeminisation of social work." (Kravetz, 1976)⁴³⁵

Family Care has never been totally "defeminised", although women clients ceased to take centre-stage as the needs of children became the prime concern for social workers. (See 8.6 Familial Ideology and Social Work) Family Care has always had a women director, and has in fact only ever employed three men,⁴³⁶ though significantly one in a key administrative role in the agency. There are clear explanations for this situation. The agency's work has been so centred on

women's concerns that it would have been unlikely to attract men (unlike other areas of social work, such as probation, which has always had a high percentage of male workers) ; and voluntary organisations generally tend to attract less men because of their traditionally lower wages and lower opportunities for career advancement. The women at the top in Family Care also stayed for a very long time, reducing the chances of men being able to apply for Director's posts.

I have interviewed two of the three male employees and they have shared with me some of their difficulties in working in such a female environment. At times they felt isolated and undervalued, both inside and outside the workplace. Kadushin (1976)⁴³⁷ has suggested that one of the motivating factors for men's move into administrative positions in social work may be an attempt to reduce role strain and conflicts - to find a more acceptable position for themselves within the profession. However men may have felt about it, the reality was that men very quickly moved to take on senior posts within social work.⁴³⁸

There are many complex structural and personal reasons for this - for example, career breaks taken by women ; women not putting themselves forward for promotion ; agencies directly and indirectly discriminating against women ; women choosing to hold onto facework with clients in preference to moving into management. Family Care has

shown a very enlightened approach to its women employees. The agency employed married women at a time when it was still routine that women were expected to give up employment on becoming engaged or on getting married.⁴³⁹ Not only was the agency willing to employ married women, but hours of service were negotiated to suit the workers' other commitments towards dependent relatives, that is, part-time contracts were offered. This was viewed very favourably by the women themselves, who saw part-time work as meeting their needs rather than as a source of exploitation by the agency. (Women's participation in the workforce has increased steadily since the Second World War, and married women have been largely responsible for this increase.⁴⁴⁰) The Guild of Service gave maternity leave to its Director in the early 1960s - a totally unheard-of arrangement - but this was not repeated until a new generation of younger social workers requested maternity leave in the 1980s.

The agency's commitment to its women employees was also evident in other ways. The agency struggled to get salaries and conditions of service on a par with those of local authority, and to introduce a pension scheme for employees. Social workers, whether married or single, full-time or part-time, were encouraged by the Director to undertake further training and to broaden their experience and qualifications. Janet Lusk (Director 1962-1984) viewed her social workers not simply as an

agency resource, but as a resource to the profession of social work.⁴⁴¹

The professionalisation of social work has therefore brought positives as well as frustrations for women. While men in social work undoubtedly benefitted from, and contributed to the process of professionalisation, it is important to remember that social work has enabled some women (that is, upper and middle class women) to "create careers and personal lives that were powerful, liberating and autonomous."⁴⁴² For those women at the bottom of the occupational ladder - the home helps, care assistants and social work assistants - the professionalisation and growth of social work services have offered a range of paid jobs which in the past would not have been waged.⁴⁴³ But the wages and working conditions attached to these jobs have been anything but "liberating and autonomous."

8.6 Familial Ideology and Social Work

If the relationship between feminism and professionalisation has been a complex matter, the same must be said for the relationship between familial ideology and social work.

Feminists writing in the 1970s and 1980s initiated a major re-think about the family, identifying it as a major site of, if not the source of, women's oppression.⁴⁴⁴ Wilson (1977)⁴⁴⁵ argued that the welfare

state embodies a set of assumptions about women which are expressed in its ideology and manifested in its policies and practices. She writes :-

"... the welfare state is not just a set of services, it is also a set of ideas about society, about the family, and ... about women, who have a centrally important role within the family, as its lynchpin."⁴⁴⁶

Familial ideology assumes that a women's role is principally that of wife and mother, and that the heterosexual, nuclear family is the natural and normal way to bring up children.⁴⁴⁷ Wilson claims that while familial ideology had its roots in the history of welfare in general, it became more prevalent after the Second World War. She identifies sociological studies, psychological writings and government reports as evidence of this ideology in action. And for Wilson, while social policy was the acceptable face of capitalism, social work was the reinforcer of traditional forms of family life - this was its primary function and the reason for its existence.

So how far has "familial ideology" been a constant feature in the creation of the welfare state? Is social work guilty as charged - a reinforcer of traditional values and an oppressor of women? Wilson has been criticised for presenting too functionalist an account of the workings of capitalism and of social work's role

within it. Riley (1983)⁴⁴⁸ challenges the assumption that post-war familial ideology was a concerted drive to force women to give up work and go back home to raise the next generation of children. She indicates that different factors operated after the war in quite a contradictory fashion :-

"the connections between government plans, the movements of women on and off the labour market and the development of psychological beliefs were far more fragile than feminist interpretations generally allow : and that there was, in fact, no concerted attack."⁴⁴⁹

McIntosh (1979)⁴⁵⁰ claims that neither the family nor the oppression of women is eternal and unchanging - they have to be understood in all their historical complexity. She points out that although state policy may seek to bolster the system of the family household, a growing number of families do not in fact fit the state's assumed family arrangement (that is, a nuclear family with husband at work and dependent wife at home.) As a result, there is a constant struggle over how best to meet the needs of those who are outwith this arrangement (the elderly, the sick, the long-term unemployed.)

The two critical concepts in this for me are contradiction and struggle - familial ideology and the state have operated in quite contradictory ways, and

there has been a constant struggle and set of adaptations to meet changing social, economic and political contingencies. Therefore at the same time as propping up a particular view of family life (through tax and social security systems) the state has operated to lessen some family ties, for example, by making divorce more readily available and by giving greater recognition to women and children's needs for protection against male violence in the home. The relationship between families and the welfare state has been, and continues to be a dynamic one, and social work policy and practice inevitably reflect this reality.

I find the notion of familial discourse (encompassing the beliefs, concepts, and ideas which govern action) a more useful way of conceptualising the complex processes at work here.⁴⁵¹ Although Michel Foucault himself spent little time examining the family, Jacques Donzelot (1980)⁴⁵² has drawn on Foucault's conceptual framework to develop a historical analysis of the family. Donzelot characterises the family as an ever-changing form - a mechanism through which other agencies operate ; a site of intersections rather than a pre-given institution. He describes the creation in the nineteenth century of the realm of "the social" - the beginnings of a government *through* the family, and a reduction in the autonomy of the patriarchal family. As I have noted already, he suggests that women (through feminism and philanthropy)

played a key role in this transformation - as allies and executives on behalf of the new family "experts", the doctors and hygienists.

Then in the twentieth century, according to Donzelot's characterisation, a new series of professions assembled under a common banner - "social work" - to take over the mission of "civilising the social body."⁴⁵³ Donzelot suggests that psycho-analysis became the tool which was to complete the shift - the "psy" was instrumental in the process of weakening the power of the family through the widespread diffusion of a "familialism" which upheld and reinforced the realm of the social. He identifies a contemporary situation in which "the family appears as though colonised" - that is, there is a "patriarchy of the state". He explains this more fully :-

"A paradoxical result of the liberalisation of the family, of the emergence of children's rights, of a rebalancing of the man-women relationship : the more these rights are proclaimed, the more the stranglehold of a tutelary authority tightens around the families of the poor. In this system, family patriarchalism is destroyed only at the cost of a patriarchy of the state."⁴⁵⁴

I find Donzelot's conceptualisation of the dynamic nature of the family very informative, though I am wary of his value-position on this.⁴⁵⁵ Women have indeed chosen to

intervene to change the relations between men and women in the family. And the family has quite clearly become more "policed" in recent years by educational, psychological and legal discourses which define and regulate the behaviour of family members. But I doubt that the policing of families has been as total or conclusive as Donzelot may seem to be suggesting. On the contrary, I believe that the social work task betrays an acceptance of many different kinds of families, and that control over families by social workers is at best incomplete.⁴⁵⁶

Turning to Family Care (then the Guild of Service), there was no single, all-pervasive familial ideology at work in the years following the Second World War. Instead what we see is a mixture of discourses and practical exigencies which continued to contribute to the formation of the social work task, and as a result, very different kinds of "family" being supported by social workers.

From the 1940s onwards, social work policy and practice was greatly influenced by new ideas emanating from psychology and psycho-analysis, for example the work of John Bowlby, D.W. Winnicott and Anna Freud.⁴⁵⁷ The new "psy" experts were all in agreement that good, secure, early childhood relationships were essential for future psychological and emotional well-being. Loss and separation in childhood, and inadequate bonding in

infancy, were identified as having disastrous, long-term consequences which in some cases were irreversible. Mothers were singled out for special attention, because it was the relationship between mothers and children which was regarded as of primary importance. (See Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

Underlying the psycho-analytic approach was a set of gendered and familial ideas - particular conceptions about the differences between men and women (as being innate, instinctive differences which were then developed by social circumstances) ; and about nuclear families with a sexual division of labour (as being the most secure and most healthy upbringing for children) ; and about heterosexuality as being the desired norm (Freudian notions of Oedipus Complex and male/female identification are important here.)

However, although psy experts and social work commentators agreed that families provided the best living arrangement for children - for sociological reasons to do with socialisation and role-modelling as well as for psychological reasons⁴⁵⁸ - there was no necessary agreement about what kind of family best met children's needs. For example, Winnicott and others did not devote their energies to analysing *ideal* parenting - they studied "good enough" parenting. Likewise, although Bowlby was critical of poor residential care, he did not

outlaw *all* residential care. The result was that social work occupied a space in between these discourses and other long-standing ideas about the family, and was pulled in different directions, as social work policy makers and practitioners tried to find ways of coping with the problems of the day.

Adoption practice highlights most clearly a stereotypical familial model. Babies were placed for adoption in nuclear families which lived up to expectations of a sexual division of labour, with husband in the role of bread-winner, and wife choosing to leave work and become a full-time housewife and mother. There was no question of wives continuing to work, or of unusual family or marital relationships.⁴⁵⁹ If different patterns did exist, we know nothing about them because prospective adopters were careful not to disclose these to their social workers. Quite simply, all the prospective adopters presented themselves as conventional nuclear families.⁴⁶⁰ Of all the aspects of the Guild of Service's work, baby adoption was most tied to the family model typically found in familial ideology. (For more on adoption practice, see Chapter Seven : **The Psychiatric Deluge?**)

But there was another unspoken assumption which grounded adoption practice in familial ideas which were much older than the "happy families" picture of post-war

familialism. Adoption practice betrayed notions of environmentalism - the idea that the environment was somehow contagious, and that children needed to be "saved" from the dangerousness of their natural origins. (The later concept of the "cycle of deprivation" proposed by Keith Joseph also illustrates this way of thinking.) In the nineteenth century, the response to fears engendered by environmentalist ideas was to "rescue" children from their slums and depravity (as Dr Barnardo did in London) and to transport them to new homes, often as far away as North America and Australia. Closer to home, the common policy in Edinburgh in the 1940s of placing children who were taken into care with foster parents in remote Highland crofts bears witness to a similar strategy. Adoption was not, therefore only about placing children in nuclear families - it was about giving them a new life removed from the disadvantages of birth.

Adoption practice did not stand still, however, and as fewer babies came to be placed for adoption, the Guild of Service found itself coping with increasingly complex and specialised adoption cases. Children who had previously been considered "unadoptable" came to be placed for adoption - black infants, handicapped children, babies with birth defects, older children, sibling groups. (See Chapter Seven, Figure 6.) Different kinds of children required different kinds of family placements. By the

1980s, there was no longer any sense that the nuclear family was the best or even desirable placement for adoptive children. For some children, other features (such as finding a same-race placement) achieved far higher priority. For others, it was recognised that a placement with a single parent might lead to a more successful outcome. So the "perfect family" of the 1960s gave way to very different family arrangements in the 1980s.

Different kinds of family pattern are also evident in the history of the agency's residential provision for children. The model which Edzell Lodge emulated when it opened in 1947 as a "family group home" was that of a large Victorian family with servants - twelve children of varying ages came together to live on a long-term basis in a large detached house. The matron was known as "auntie Margaret", and the children were encouraged to view each other as "cousins." In the early years of Edzell Lodge, most children had contact with a relative - often their mother - and they were also introduced to volunteer committee members who would take an interest in their lives and their progress. Some children lived permanently in the children's home. Others came in for short periods while their mothers were in hospital, or to give their mothers a break.

As trends in residential care changed, so the large Victorian house and extended family of the early period was overtaken by a modern (post-war familialism) model in which the children's home became more like a "normal" family home. In the 1960s, a married couple was appointed to be houseparents, bringing their own children with them to live in a flat within the children's home. The male houseparent went out to work, drove the van and helped out in the home at weekends. The housemother took over the cooking for the home, and looked after all the children. They therefore replicated perfectly conventional role-models for the benefit of the children.

Again, however, we are faced with a contradiction. While Edzell Lodge was replacing the extended family model with a nuclear one, staffing ratios and staff turnover were higher than they had ever been. The days of the unmarried matron who devoted her entire working life to the children's home had gone. In its place, residential social workers were striving to improve their conditions of work (principally by working fewer hours) and to upgrade their career structure, training and salaries. The image of the totally self-sacrificing mother-figure had gone, to be replaced by the notion of career-workers.

Casework practice shows up even more strongly the complexities in social work's approach to the family. The job of caseworkers in the Guild of Service from the

1950s right up to the 1980s was to support unmarried mothers - to provide practical and emotional support to those women who had decided to keep their illegitimate babies.⁴⁶¹ This work was not about maintaining familial ideology - had this been the case, then the agency would have been encouraging these single parents (these "deficient families", Donzelot, 1980⁴⁶²) to give up their babies for adoption. The main principle at work here was not familial ideology, but individuation - individual client self-determination - respecting the client's right to make her own decision, and supporting her in that decision. (See British Association of Social Workers - BASW - Principles of Social Work Practice⁴⁶³)

The concept of prevention in social work confirms this point. In spite of what I have already said about environmentalism, social work (at least since the Children Act of 1948) has given some support to chaotic, disorganised, potentially damaging families. The notion of preventing the break-up of families has been a very potent one, and for a time there was even a hope that preventive measures might also stop children from falling into delinquency. Holman (1988) identifies the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 with its emphasis on "social welfare for all" as the high point in the acceptance of the idea of prevention.⁴⁶⁴

The picture which emerges, therefore, is not a straightforward one of social work oppressing women, or of only one set of ideas influencing the social work task with families. Instead, there has been a constant process of negotiation in daily social work practice. Sometimes this process has led to head-on clashes in the agency, as illustrated in Family Care's ambivalent relationship with the Brook Advisory Service.⁴⁶⁵ In 1971, the Guild of Service undertook to provide a counselling service for women who were considering having an abortion. This service was provided for all GPs in Edinburgh, but principally for doctors at the Brook Clinic. The agency's reasons for setting up such a service were firmly "professional" ones - there was concern that women were having abortions without giving due consideration to the consequences of their actions. And the kind of service offered was likewise "professional", using psycho-dynamic insights to enable the woman to understand the origins of her situation and the best outcome.

The service caused great personal and structural difficulties for the agency's staff and committee members. Social workers found the work demanding and difficult, and some asked not to be involved in this area of work. Some committee members disagreed on principle with abortion and contraception believing that it was "too readily available" - that it was better to teach

girls to say "no" and to learn to value loving relationships between husband and wife than to "encourage" them to experiment sexually. They therefore disagreed fundamentally with the agency having anything to do with abortion counselling or with the Brook Clinic. (This point of view echoes that expressed by the early vigilance feminists.)

The abortion counselling service lasted for only two years, after which time the Brook Clinic started to employ its own social workers. Both agencies have continued to have close contact with each other in work with pregnant women, and in student supervision, but the old ambivalence and potential for conflict has remained.

8.7 Feminism and Familialism in the 1980s and 1990s

The 1980s and 1990s have witnessed yet another struggle to define the relationship between women and the social work task. On the one hand, social work has been characterised by an increasingly managerial, technical style of operation, which has relied on ever-tighter systems and regulations for its implementation. Commentators have pointed out that organisational development over the past twenty years, particularly in the statutory sector, but now also witnessed in voluntary agencies, has been heading towards a "masculinisation" of the service ⁴⁶⁶ - managerial control and bureaucratic intervention have supplemented concerns about quality of

service and professional values. Institutional sexism is such that there is now a vertical and horizontal division of labour in social work, with men predominating at the top, and women at the bottom of the occupational ladder. (See Dale and Foster, 1986 ; Howe, 1986)467

At the same time, faced with cut-backs in government spending on social services, and a strong attack on the very basis of the welfare state from both right and left-wing politicians, community care has emerged as the answer to everyone's prayers - as the curative for all the present financial and ideological difficulties. (See Chapter Nine : **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier**)

Cutting across and providing a critique for these developments, a new feminist discourse in social work has emerged - a new feminist voice which has tried to get to grips with contradictions and complexities surrounding women and social work.

The feminist discourse has been articulated in many different areas inside and outside social work. Some analyses have highlighted the inherent sexism within social work, a sexism which exists not only at institutional levels but also in the minute assessments and decision-making of daily social work practice. (For a flavour of this writing, see Hale on the targets of

social work intervention ; Hudson on girls' sexuality ; Maynard on social workers' response to domestic violence; Nelson on child sexual abuse ; and Wright on male carers. 468) Others have tackled gender issues in social work from a rather different perspective, by seeking to understand where this sexism comes from - asking why women have internalised feelings of responsibility for the care for others. Here psychology, socialisation and cultural norms, as well as opportunity and economic/ demographic reasons are all held to be contributory factors. (See Chodorow, 1978 ; Dalley, 1983, 1988 ; Finch, 1984 ; Graham, 1983 ; Ungerson, 1983. 469)

It was with the appointment of openly feminist social workers at the end of the 1970s and into the early 1980s that a new feminist discourse began to struggle for attention in the life of this agency (ironically now under the new title of Family Care.⁴⁷⁰) Work with unmarried mothers and single parents began to have quite a different flavour. The language changed from "single parents" to "women", and a groupwork project (No. 20) started in the Muirhouse council housing scheme was targetted at all women, not simply single parents or mothers.⁴⁷¹ As the targets of intervention changed, so did the styles and methods of working. Individual files and the professional social work relationship were put to one side at No. 20 in favour of a more open system where women were encouraged to support one another, and where

social workers built on their shared experiences as women.

But the professional social work discourse and familialism did not go away, and continued to exist alongside and at times in competition with the new feminist discourse, both inside and outside this agency. At the same time as the overtly feminist work was being pioneered, the adoption work within the agency was undergoing a transformation. In 1983, Family Care opened an adoption counselling service for all those involved in the different aspects of the adoption process (adopters, adoptees and birth parents.) The Adoption Counselling Centre worked from a traditional professional social work model. It valued professional social work values - confidentiality, client self-determination, and a rather formal relationship between service-user and social worker/counsellor. There was no suggestion here of insights from new feminist counselling methods being employed, or of a special interest in gender issues.⁴⁷² On the contrary, there was some hostility (more latent than expressed) between the Adoption Counselling Centre social workers who rejected feminist approaches and included men as their clients, and the single parent families' social workers who described themselves as feminists and chose to work mainly with women.⁴⁷³

So how could one agency be pulling in two such different directions at the same time? The answer lies partly in the background and personal orientation of the social workers employed at this time. Some of the social workers had in the past been involved in feminist activities and campaigns ; others had not. But this is too simplistic an answer. There is a strong sense in which the feminist/professional conflict which emerged in this agency in the 1980s was no different from the contradictions which have always surrounded social work and its relation to women. Social work has emerged out of a struggle to define at the same time as support women and the family - women have been "created" by the social work discourse.

But this does not imply that there has been no contradiction, no disagreement and no resistance on the part of those being "created." Instead, feminism and familialism have been in a perpetual state of struggle, so that within actual social work intervention, contradictions emerge. The feminist orientation at No.20 was never absolute - social workers constantly struggled with the difficulties of putting together personal philosophy about empowerment and self-help with the realities of working with a group of depressed and in many ways defeated women.⁴⁷⁴ Similarly, feminist social work principles at times clashed with the demands of professional social work, seen particularly acutely in

cases of child abuse or neglect perpetrated by a mother.⁴⁷⁵

The contradictions in social work practice can be seen to echo the contradictions within the agency. Family Care has never described itself as a feminist agency ; it has never taken on board in any overall sense issues of women's oppression ; it has aligned itself to other professional social work agencies, not women's organisations.⁴⁷⁶ Its management-style too has chosen to reflect hierarchical values, not co-operative feminist ones (although it has never followed this up by employing men in all the senior posts as has been the pattern in most statutory settings.)

In the 1980s alongside feminist and professional social work concepts, a new discourse appeared in the agency, built on acceptance of the tenets of American management theory. The language was very masculine, with a lot of attention given to targets and strategies, to efficiency, cost-effectiveness and workload management.⁴⁷⁷ A new Director has now shifted the pendulum back in favour of "social work values" as opposed to "management-speak",⁴⁷⁸ but this is in marked contrast to the style which today predominates in the outside world of social work, as seen in social work training and government publications.

8.8 Summary

My conclusions lead me right back to the beginning of the chapter, to the assertion that although discourses which define women and the family have been enormously influential in determining the nature of the social work task, their impact has not been static, one-dimensional or unchallenged. Instead, feminist and familialist strands have existed side-by-side and in contradiction with one another, (and with other discourses in social work) throughout the history of social work this century. Therefore we have seen that although the welfare state in general, and social work in particular, is sexist, it is not *only* sexist - maintaining sexism in society is not the sole condition of its existence. Instead, the development of social work has brought with it the possibility of career advancement and self-actualisation for very many women who have chosen to work in the field; and the possibility of support and protection for vulnerable groups in society, who are predominantly women and children.

This support and protection has, of course, been viewed negatively as well as positively. Wilson (1977)⁴⁷⁹ perceives preventive social work as a form of social containment which seeks to maintain women's subordination in the family. My own approach is a much more pragmatic one. I have no doubt that social work is structured to be a form of social control, and that social workers do

have power over the families with whom they are working. Yet I believe nevertheless that a caring kind of social work is possible, even within the tight limitations of statutory social work. (I will pick up the theme of care and control in the social work discourse more fully in Chapter Ten : **The Social Work Task - Discourse and Power**)

I believe also that the contradictions for women within the social work discourse echo much wider contradictions for women in general - contradictions which are to do with our shared experience of living in society, and yet our differential experience of oppression based on our social class, educational background, sexual orientation, disability etc. Ramazanoglu (1989)⁴⁸⁰ insists that we all experience oppression differently, because of our different age, colour, class etc, and as a result our visions of liberation are equally diverse.

My final statement is an optimistic one. If discourse is indeed partial in its effect, challenged as it is by other discourses and by practical circumstances, then resistance and change are possible. It is therefore up to us women engaged in creating the social work task today to see that we strive to build a social work policy and practice which is gender-aware in its theory and non-oppressive in its method.

Figure 7 Gender Balance of Executive Committee, NVA/Guild of Service/Family Care, 1911-1991

Year	Men	Women	Total
1911	8	8	16
1916	8	8	16
1921	4	10	14
1926	3	11	14
1931	5	10	15
1936	5	10	15
1941	2	12	14
1946	2	17	19
1951	1	12	13
1956	1	13	14
1961	0	17	17
1966	0	21	21
1971	0	21	21
1976	2	13	15
1981	3	15	18
1986	5	8	13
1991	5	6	11

Figure 7 - Notes

1. Source - NVA/Guild of Service/ Family Care Annual Reports.

2. The figures illustrate that the agency moved away from being an agency in which men and women played an equal part in Executive Committee membership to one which was run totally by women for a time. Today the balance between sexes has been recovered.

3. Note that the Executive Committee was not the only arena in which men and women could become involved in the management of the agency. There was also a General Committee up until 1975, which followed the pattern of the Executive in becoming a women's committee from the 1950s onwards. Men and women were also involved in agency sub-committees - again, mainly women-led ; and as agency professional advisers. This was the major contribution which men made to the agency throughout its history, as legal and later medical and paediatric advisers.

CHAPTER NINE

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORK - A MOVING FRONTIER

9.1 Introduction

When Lord Beveridge in 1949 highlighted "the perpetually moving frontier of voluntary action",⁴⁸¹ he was drawing attention to what he saw as an essential quality of voluntary agencies, that is, their capacity to "trail-blaze" - to continually initiate new services which then become part of the social fabric. In this chapter I will argue that the voluntary sector has indeed been a moving frontier, though not always for the reasons anticipated by Beveridge. I will argue that the voluntary sector has been in a constant state of struggle - from its early battles to retain its position as a primary service provider and initiator, to its present-day dilemmas as it tries to hold onto its independence and its *raison d'être* in the world of the "new realities".⁴⁸² This may seem a surprising stance to take, given the present multitude of voluntary organisations of all shapes and sizes, and given the present government's commitment to "handing services back" to non-statutory agencies. However, I will argue that in the current climate of short-term contracts and packages of care,⁴⁸³ voluntary organisations risk losing their independence, their freedom and their rationale, as they become little more than cheaper substitutes of governmental enterprise.

The current uncertainties surrounding the voluntary sector must be seen as part of an ongoing debate about the relationship between the individual and the state. The provision of social welfare has always been a battleground - an arena of conflict and contestation in which competing groups and ideologies have fought for prominence and legitimacy. The question of who provides welfare, and what welfare is provided, has never been a neutral subject, nor an area of total consensus. On the contrary, the whole history of welfare is characterised by ideological debate about who should and should not provide welfare. The complexities do not end there, however. The welfare state is not only a set of ideas about how society should be organised. It is also a set of practices - the real, practical solutions which must be found to pressing social and economic problems, and which therefore bear witness to compromises and practical exigencies as much as to pure ideology. Economic and political imperatives may therefore be as important as altruism and aspirations for redistribution.⁴⁸⁴

In Finlayson's (1990)⁴⁸⁵ words, the growth of the state took place under the "pressure of circumstances" and "the pressure of convictions" :-

"... the dual recognition, in the light of existing conditions, that only the state *could* undertake social improvement and regeneration, and that only the state *should* do so. This was the obverse side of the idea

that voluntarism both *could not* and *should not* undertake this task."⁴⁸⁶

Four sectors have traditionally been involved in welfare provision - commercial and informal sectors, as well as voluntary and statutory sectors. In this chapter, I will address the changing position of the voluntary sector, and in particular, Family Care, as it has fought to retain its status and its usefulness, in the face of an ever-increasing and more powerful statutory sector.

9.2 Voluntary versus Statutory Social Welfare

The ideas behind voluntary social welfare can be found most starkly in the ideology centred on the Poor Law and in the workings of the Charity Organisation Society. Here responsibility for welfare provision was placed not on the state, but on individuals, families and communities. It was assumed that although the state might have a very minimal role in caring for "the residue" of "undeserving poor", most people's needs were best met by relying on their own resources, or on those of the community, particularly local charitable and voluntary associations. The emphasis was therefore on self-help and the cultivation of independence, in the hope that the claimant would be able to cope with his/her problems in the future. Statutory aid was always viewed as potentially dangerous because it took something away from the recipient and might result in dependence and

pauperisation. It was this "parallel bars" concept of statutory and voluntary welfare which dominated the Majority Report to the Poor Law Commission. Voluntary and statutory sectors were regarded as two separate and mutually exclusive sectors, with the voluntary sector providing for the bulk of social care needs.⁴⁸⁷

In contrast, statutory welfare ideology, which came to the fore in the post-Second World War "Butskellite consensus" was governed by a belief in the duty of the state to provide a basic minimum standard of living for all its citizens, though of course the level at which this was set remained very much open to debate. There was a strongly egalitarian, universalising strand in this discourse - an assumption that there should be no shame in claiming welfare or in seeing a social worker. Social welfare was a right to be claimed if and when it is needed by all citizens. There was also a heavily centralist component in the thinking and in the legislation - a belief in central planning and a concern to do away with individualistic, ad hoc, localised solutions. The role of voluntary welfare became identified as that of a supplementer of statutory services - doing things which statutory services were not already doing - and an initiator of new services. This "extension ladder" theory was first proposed by the Webbs in the Minority Report to the Poor Law Commission, and became the generally-accepted position on the

relationship between voluntary and statutory welfare from the 1940s up until the 1970s, as evidenced in the Children Act of 1948, the Children and Young Persons' Act of 1963, and the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968.

It was the 1970s - a time of unprecedented expansion in statutory welfare services - which was also the time when the fragile consensus on the welfare state finally fell apart. Voices from left and right of the political spectrum arose to attack both the practical achievements of, and the ideological foundations of the welfare state and statutory social welfare. Those on the left condemned the welfare state for its non-participatory, alienating structures, and its ineffectiveness at meeting real social need. Those on the right attacked its dependency-inducing, lacking-in-choice systems, and its inefficiency. As Norman Fowler asserted in 1984 :-

"The state has not, cannot, and should not monopolise the personal social services."⁴⁸⁸

But the assault on the legitimacy of the welfare state and statutory services was not a new phenomenon. Even at the time of the inception of the welfare state, concerns had continued to be expressed about the rightness and feasibility of universal state provision. (See Hayek, 1944)⁴⁸⁹ These concerns were enshrined in the actual mechanics of the welfare benefit system as it was translated into practice - evidenced in statutory

welfare's persistent use of the contributory principle and in the various "means tests" surrounding welfare benefits.⁴⁹⁰ The welfare state never did assume responsibility for *all* social needs, and instead continued to use the voluntary sector to carry out statutory work on its behalf. (See **Section 9.7 The Service Provider Role**)

Two related sets of ideas have stepped into the ideological breach created by the loss of confidence in the welfare state in general, and statutory social work in particular. The first is the notion of decentralisation, often expressed in terms of "community social work", or "patch" systems and reflected in the Barclay Report of 1982.⁴⁹¹ The second centres on the concept of "welfare pluralism", and is greatly influenced by ideas which originated in the United States, but which have been taken up and developed by supporters of the voluntary sector in Britain.⁴⁹² De-centralisation and welfare pluralism come together in the notion that the the "non-statutory sector" may be in the best position to provide innovative, participatory and cost-effective welfare services.

Hadley and Hatch (1981)⁴⁹³ exemplify the movement to widen involvement on the social services by drawing on pluralist and decentralising ideas. They do not reject the basic idea of making collective provision for social

welfare. Instead they are critical of the forms by which that provision has come to be made - the centralised, hierarchical, bureaucratic system of welfare provision; and the emphasis in social services on meeting individual need through individualised services. They propose the establishment of alternative structures :-

"plural provision; decentralisation and community orientation of community services; contractual rather than hierarchical accountability; participation in representation."⁴⁹⁴

Welfare pluralism was first proposed in the Wolfenden Report of 1978,⁴⁹⁵ and can be seen in Francis Gladstone's polemic Voluntary Action in a Changing World,⁴⁹⁶ in which he lays out the voluntary sector's case for "gradualist welfare pluralism." Here he argues for the gradual substitution of statutory services by voluntary action, the role of the state becoming that of resource-allocator and service-monitor rather than service-provider. He upholds the potential for voluntary action to offer a way out of the present difficulties in the welfare state, claiming its superior ability to provide services on the grounds of its greater adaptability ; its cost-effectiveness ; its enhanced level of participation ; and its more co-ordinated approach towards welfare provision within the context of neighbourhoods.

It was welfare pluralism, not community social work, which succeeded in capturing the imagination of the policy-makers and legislators. We can find the idea of welfare pluralism prominent in the Griffiths Report of 1988⁴⁹⁷ and at the heart of current community care legislation :-

"The public sector agencies will continue to play their part as providers but there will be a major role for the private sector and voluntary organisations in securing better, more flexible services with a broader choice for individuals, more closely matched to their needs."⁴⁹⁸

Here a clear split is delineated between purchaser and provider roles, with the statutory sector given the task of purchasing services in the market-place of care on behalf of clients. The expectation that the statutory sector should carry a primary responsibility for welfare provision has gone; in its place, statutory, voluntary, "not-for-profit" and commercial agencies are all expected to compete with one another for contracts to provide individualised packages of care.

Brenton (1985)⁴⁹⁹ is very critical of the mystique attached to the concept of voluntary action and the stereotypical picture of voluntary organisations painted by Gladstone and others. She doubts whether voluntary

agencies are in fact essentially more innovative, more participatory, and more cost-effective than statutory agencies, and suggests that these are at the most "potential attributes" of the voluntary sector. But more fundamentally, Brenton asks how much of a mixed economy of welfare is really being advanced, and how far instead this represents a retreat for the state. She criticises the "disinformation and detractions spawned within the present economic and political climate" - in which the welfare pluralists have themselves played a key role.⁵⁰⁰ And she draws attention to the lack of an analysis of power or class in the pluralist approach :-

"There is no space here for a structural view of society as the arena of conflicts between the interests of institutionalised and concentrated power and the powerless, between a class which keeps an iron grip on essential economic and political resources and a class which ... is confined to a permanently unequal position in society."⁵⁰¹

This brings me back to my initial statement - that the relationship between voluntary and statutory social welfare is invariably problematic and always political. There is no consensus on how welfare should be provided and by whom. The social work task is therefore likewise an arena of intense struggle and strategic manoeuvring.

9.3 What is Voluntary Social Work?

The question of what constitutes voluntary social work is not without controversy, and different writers have adopted different meanings and emphases. (For a range of views, see Brenton, 1985 ; Hatch, 1980 ; Johnson, 1981 ; Murray, 1969 ; Roof, 1957 ; Wolfenden, 1978.)⁵⁰²

At a general level, voluntary social work agencies may be assumed to be those organisations which rely on voluntary effort, paid for by voluntary funds, to provide services for particular identified groups or social problems. But in reality, the picture is far more complicated. Some voluntary organisations rely almost totally on volunteer input (for example, Citizen's Advice Bureaux, and the many self-help groups) while others make no use of volunteers whatsoever (for example, Edinburgh Family Service Unit.) Likewise while some voluntary agencies do a substantial amount of fund-raising (for example, Barnardo's), others depend on 100% government financial support (for example, Volunteer Centre.)

Some voluntary organisations provide actual services, often paid for to a substantial degree by local authorities or central government (for example, Family Care). Others concentrate their attention on co-ordination and/or pressure group activities (for example, Edinburgh Voluntary Organisations' Council, or Child Poverty Action Group.) And very many organisations

represent a hybrid of all of these, providing some services and some advocacy functions, some mutual aid and some professional support, paid for by a patchwork of independent fund-raising and local and central government backing (for example, Scottish Council for Single Parents.)

To further complicate matters, some voluntary agencies are small, locally-based organisations (including local tenants' associations) while others operate at a national level, such as Age Concern or Childline (though again, these national organisations may have local committees with only tenuous links with their national headquarters.)

Brenton (1985) suggests in conclusion that the definition of a voluntary organisation is "essentially a statement of an ideal type based on a constellation of features some of which or all of which may be conformed to by voluntary organisations in practice."⁵⁰³

If voluntary organisations are difficult to pin down, then statutory organisations are equally so. Private fund-raising lies at the core of much statutory health and welfare service provision (for example, the huge sums raised by cancer and AIDS charities for the National Health Service, or the recent "Sicks Kids Appeal" in Edinburgh which raised £11.5 million for a new wing at

the Royal Hospital for Sick Children.) And voluntary organisations have not been the sole users of volunteers either. Again, the health service and social work departments have made considerable use of unpaid workers in the provision and maintenance of a range of services to clients (for example, meals on wheels, hospital libraries and canteens, befriending services.)

Kramer (1981) in a study of voluntary agencies in four countries (The Netherlands, England, The United States and Israel) suggests that the pattern of the development of the British welfare state can be viewed as "two streams of governmental and voluntary initiative that occasionally intersect and that, even when parallel, affect each other's courses."⁵⁰⁴ He proposes that although each welfare state in his study differs in the extent to which it relies on non-statutory organisations for the provision of services, all the countries share a basic perception of voluntary organisations :-

"these agencies are expected to be innovative and flexible, to protect particularistic interests, to promote voluntary citizen participation, and to meet needs not met by government." In doing so, they are believed to "strengthen the pluralist and democratic forces of a society."⁵⁰⁵

Kramer goes on to clarify this further by suggesting that most discussions of the character, the goals and

functions of voluntary agencies imply the performance of four organisational roles - the voluntary agency as vanguard, as improver or advocate, as value guardian, and as service provider.⁵⁰⁶ He suggests that the ability of voluntary organisations to perform these roles depends on both internal and external factors and constraints - professional ideologies, executive leadership, the public policy environment, and the civic culture. This typology offers a very straightforward way of analysing the role of voluntary agencies and their relationship with statutory agencies in the welfare state. I will therefore use this as a framework for examining the changing nature of the voluntary social work task in my case-study of Family Care.

9.4 The Vanguard Role

Voluntary organisations are expected to innovate, to pioneer, to experiment and to demonstrate programmes, some of which may later be adopted by statutory authorities. (Kramer, 1981)⁵⁰⁷ Acceptance of the notion of the "trail-blazing" role permeates all government reports and legislation on voluntary organisations, and most writing from within and outwith the voluntary sector. For example :-

"The role of voluntary organisations in pioneering many of the services that were subsequently incorporated in the welfare state is well recognised. There is also widespread recognition that pioneering

continues to be a valuable role of the voluntary sector."

(Wolfenden Report, 1978)⁵⁰⁸

From the Beveridge Report of 1942 to the Barclay Report of 1982 and a plethora of recent literature around welfare pluralism, the mythology has been created and maintained that suggests that voluntary agencies are not only good at pioneering, but are somehow in a better position to innovate than statutory agencies.

But is this true? How far does the example of Family Care live up to this ideal? There can be no doubt that in its beginnings, Family Care (then the NVA) was very much in the vanguard role. The work which the agency chose to carry out, from its campaigning activities to the support-services it provided for vulnerable women and children, was not being offered by any other agency, and certainly not by a statutory agency. For Miss Stewart, Organising Secretary from 1929 to 1954, it was a simple matter of responding to need - "No matter what the trouble, we are willing to lend a hand."⁵⁰⁹

With such a limited range of organisations in the social welfare field, the agency was free to develop services in which ever direction it chose, and significantly, if and when it was able to raise public funds to begin a new project. Financial support was always easier to obtain

when the target was needy children. The agency succeeded in getting support for two Children's Homes, first in 1947 then in 1952 ; but a flat used for short-term assessment of homeless women had to close in 1921 because of lack of funds, and a fund-raising campaign in 1930 to raise cash for a "Preventive Home" for women was unsuccessful.

Some of the agency's activities required little cash, but a great deal of human resources. The decision to do something in 1931 about the lack of accommodation for sailors from the Home Fleet on leave in Edinburgh required an outstanding effort on the part of Miss Stewart and her volunteers, who opened church halls throughout Edinburgh, and provided soup and a bed to men who would otherwise have been sleeping out in the streets of Edinburgh. The reasons for taking on this work seem to have been in part humanitarian and in part connected with the agency's "preventive" work. Providing accommodation for sailors not only took them quite literally "off the streets". It also kept them away from brothels and out of the clutches of prostitutes.⁵¹⁰ Between 1931 and 1939, 20,000 men were accommodated in this way. After the Second World War, the navy made its own arrangements for sailors on leave.

Edzell Lodge Children's Home in its early years certainly matched the stereotypical pioneering role. It was hailed

as the first "family group home" in Scotland, and provided an example and a demonstration for countless visitors who came to find out about its operation. It opened its doors to twelve children of varying ages at a time when "small" children's homes still contained up to sixty children. It encouraged community involvement, sponsored a local nursery class, and maintained contact with biological parents - all of this was quite revolutionary at the time, though some of the ideas were also contained within the Clyde Report.⁵¹¹

The adoption practice established by the agency (now the Guild of Service) in the late 1950s and 1960s was also regarded by the agency and by other commentators (for example, see Younghusband, 1964⁵¹²) as pioneering and new. What was exceptional was the professional, "scientific" approach to adoption placement. Gone were the "hunches" and common-sense judgements of yesteryear, and in their place was a sound, thorough, professional assessment of adopters, baby, biological parents and the "match" between them. (For more on the implications of the introduction of new adoption procedures, see Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work.**)

The Guild of Service did not only pursue new approaches in adoption internally; the agency also played a major role in teaching new methods to other adoption societies, including the local authority. This was achieved through

agency staff being loaned to other agencies (including Aberdeen Children's Department) ; through the training of students on placement ; and through the agency's participation in co-ordinating groups and advisory bodies (most significantly, the Standing Conference on Adoption.)

So far, I have been able to illustrate that at least one assumption about pioneering is right - that in the early stages, innovation is very much a central theme in voluntary organisations. But what of the later stages? Kramer suggests that once an agency has become institutionalised, innovation tends to consist of :-

"small-scale, non-controversial, incremental improvements or extensions of conventional social services with relatively few original or novel features..."⁵¹³

He continues that to find true innovation from the 1960s onwards, we must look to the new self-help groups which were growing up spontaneously, not to the older established agencies, which were using the opportunity of greater statutory resources to expand, rather than to innovate. (The Wolfenden Report also questions how far innovation can remain a feature of voluntary agencies once they have become established as service-providers.)

Certainly, the Guild of Service did increasingly well out of the expansion in financial resources available to both

statutory and voluntary agencies in the period after the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968, as illustrated in the transformation at this time in sources of major funding to the agency. (See Figure 8 Annual Income, 1954-1991) The agency was able to offer salaries and conditions of service broadly comparable with that of the local authority - "a great leap forward," according to the agency's secretary/ treasurer.⁵¹⁴ And it was able to increase its staffing levels too. But the Guild of Service did not use the opportunity for expansion at this time, and instead chose to consolidate its specialist services and continue to develop the professional expertise of the agency.

There are two examples of this. When invited to set up branches in Dundee and Aberdeen around this time the Guild of Service refused to do so, on the grounds that local identity and excellence in practice were more important than expansion to new centres of population. In addition, the Guild of Service pioneered two new ventures in the early 1970s. In 1973, the agency became host and manager to the newly-formed South East Scotland Resource Centre (SESRC), an adoption consortium made up of all the adoption societies (statutory and voluntary) in the area. SESRC acted as a clearing-house for all "hard-to place" children, finding adopters for children from within its wide membership. The same year, the Guild of Service piloted a three-year Volunteer Scheme,

which recruited, trained and matched volunteer befrienders for single parent families. This project arose out of the findings of a research project into the needs of single mothers sponsored by the Scottish Council for Single Parents, and carried out by an ex-Guild of Service employee.

SESRC was funded initially for three years by central government, through the Scottish Office Social Work Services Group. In 1976, funding was taken over 100% by the four local authorities who were participants in the programme. In March 1981, SESRC closed down, superceded by a new Scottish office of the British Association for Adoption and Fostering (BAAF) which opened in Edinburgh, and which took over responsibility for the "Find a Family" project.

The Volunteer Scheme had a very different history. Funded for three years by another voluntary trust fund (the Buttle Trust), when its funding came to an end the agency invited the local authority to take over the scheme. Lothian Regional Council refused, but agreed to continue to support the scheme through its annual grant to the agency. In other words, it was deemed cheaper and easier to allow the voluntary agency to run the service itself.

More recent attempts at innovation have been extremely problematic for the agency, for both financial and practical reasons. During the 1970s, as statutory provision grew and moved into areas previously colonised by voluntary agencies, the Guild of Service struggled to find a distinctive role for itself. (I will say more about this under section 9.7 on the service-provider function.) Adoption practice and residential care both changed at this time, as the agency took on increasingly complex cases involving older children. But the services provided by the agency were now completely tied-in to policy and practice initiatives of the local authority - it was the Social Work Department which was setting the pace and leading the field (for example, with its policy decision to keep all children out of residential care.⁵¹⁵)

In 1982, the agency (now Family Care) introduced three new projects. A play visiting scheme in the Greendykes area of Edinburgh grew out of the work with volunteers; a self-help group for women began in another housing scheme, Muirhouse, and arising out of the work with single parents ; and an adoption counselling project developed as a response to work already being done by adoption social workers. All of these were initially small-scale, incremental projects as Kramer has suggested ; and each reflected the idiosyncratic interests and preferences of individual members of staff.

There was no clear sense at this time of the agency choosing to go in one direction or develop a new area of work - instead, the agency seemed to be struggling to find a worthwhile place for itself in the social work arena.

In practice, Family Care's involvement in the Greendykes work ended after three years, largely because the incoming Family Care Director did not see this work as a priority for the agency.⁵¹⁶ The Muirhouse group expanded to become a full-time centre for women and children, more for opportunistic reasons than because of deliberate policy. (The agency used money accrued from the sale of the children's home to set up the Muirhouse centre, but this was only when other plans for the Home had failed.) Today the agency still displays ambivalence to the Muirhouse project, which it may or may not relinquish to local management in the future. The adoption counselling project has moved in a very different direction. It was established as a project separate from the agency, but has moved into the centre of the agency's work to become the largest activity currently undertaken by the agency. Again, this reflects the failure to get other projects off the ground, as well as the special interest of another new Director in this side of the agency's work.

The whole process of innovation, therefore, is affected not just by professional ideologies or the vision of the

agency's director and Executive Committee, it is also a matter of pragmatic reality - of seizing the moment and planning on the basis of what is feasible. But there is another dimension here. Family Care was also increasingly dependent on the agreement and approval of its "partners" in the welfare field - the statutory and voluntary agencies with whom it worked and alongside whom it carved out its place in the welfare network.

Family Care's failure to get a new, controversial scheme off the ground highlights the difficulties of innovation in the face of an unsympathetic policy environment. The agency tried without success between 1979 and 1991 to open a new Family Centre - a residential unit with daycare facilities for parents and children. The first attempt came via a proposal for a merger with the failing Claremont Park Home for mothers and babies, between 1979 and 1982 - Claremont Park resisted Family Care's approaches. Then when Edzell Lodge Children's Home was forced to close in 1984, Family Care tried again to secure funding to run a residential unit for parents within the Edzell Lodge building. Although consumer research indicated that such a unit was needed, there were concerns about the viability of such a unit in a suburban area like Morningside, and in a converted children's home. There were also residual concerns that this unit was an old fashioned idea - that it was a mother and baby home by any other name - and that it

perhaps should not be given full support.⁵¹⁷ Funding could not be secured for this proposal, and Edzell Lodge was therefore sold. The agency thereafter put its energies into presenting a joint plan with another voluntary housing association for a unit to be built in the Bingham housing scheme. Between 1989 and 1991, this project was pursued with local authority and central government (Urban Aid funding) without success, and plans were finally shelved for the last time in 1991.

The Family Centre failure is interesting because it shows how difficult it is for a small voluntary agency to pioneer a new project on such a large scale (staffing levels were said to be high) ; and more importantly, to pioneer a project seen as unfashionable. The agency did have an opportunity when Edzell Lodge was closed to "go it alone" - to set up without governmental financial backing, and to prove the project's usefulness in the process. But the stakes were seen as too high. The agency risked losing all its capital and becoming bankrupt if the centre had not been able to quickly become a viable concern.

This takes me back to the dilemmas involved in achieving a satisfactory balance between private and statutory funding in a voluntary agency. In Family Care's early years, income and expenditure were both extremely low. (See Figure 9 Income and Expenditure 1950-1991) The

agency really did exist on a shoe-string, as evidenced by the fact that Miss Stewart was never sure when she locked up on a Friday whether she would have a job to come back to on the Monday! Executive committee members acted as personal guarantors for small overdrafts with the bank ; periodic fundraising and regular covenants just about kept the agency afloat. When the Thrift Shop and School Exchange was opened in 1957, for the first time the agency had a guaranteed income, and could plan ahead accordingly.

From the 1960s, the agency's financial security began to grow. Small grants were received from local government (Edinburgh Corporation) towards the costs of running the two children's homes and the "general office", and larger sums from central government (through the Scottish Education Department) to pay for the practice teaching work. Payments were also received from a variety of local authorities towards maintenance of children living in the children's homes. Money raised from the Thrift Shop and School Exchange, however, far outreached the other sources of income.⁵¹⁸

From the early 1970s, this picture began to change. The Edinburgh Corporation grant increased from £400 in 1968 to £3,000 in 1971 in recognition of the statutory adoption work and support for unmarried mothers being carried out by the agency. Additional central government

funding was also set aside for development of the adoption service in 1971. Maintenance payments for children in care rose apace. By 1974, the combined income from local and central government trebled the amount raised by the Thrift Shop.⁵¹⁹ (The agency recognised the potential difficulties which this imbalance between voluntary and government income might raise, and the following year it launched two new fundraising ventures, a mobile shop and a second-hand bookshop.)

Throughout the 1970s, the agency's dependence on grant aid - and the agency's size - both increased greatly. By 1977-78, grant aid was six times higher than thrift shop takings ; by 1980-81 it was fourteen times higher. (See Figure 9 Income and Expenditure 1950-1991) At the same time, funds received from private legacies and donations was rapidly decreasing.

There is no doubt that the "contract culture" of the 1990s is going to make it even more difficult for voluntary agencies to experiment with projects which do not have the blessing of governmental agencies. When Lothian Region carried out a review of Family Care in 1991, the outcome was that the block grant system disappeared. Instead of giving the agency a lump sum for general services, now cash was tied to designated projects, and specified targets were set for the projects receiving funding. It will be interesting to see how

much scope there is for the vanguard role in voluntary agencies in the years ahead, since the local authority will be increasingly setting standards at the same time as paying others to provide services on its behalf.

9.5 The Value Guardian Role and Volunteerism

Kramer⁵²⁰ identifies a second traditional quality in the mythology of voluntary agencies - their role as "guards" of a host of social values, including altruism, social integration, democratic collective action, self-help, pluralism, humanising and personalising social service. In addition, he states, they are legitimated to preserve the particularistic interests and values of minority groups in society.

While accepting the continuing importance of altruism and citizen participation in a welfare state, Kramer argues that the virtues of both volunteerism and voluntary agencies may have been exaggerated. He claims that voluntary agencies are not necessarily participative, democratic organisations which value consumer and volunteer involvement ; that volunteerism can be regarded inappropriately as a substitute for paid staff and a way of compensating for deficiencies in the state ; and that volunteer growth seems likely to be found in self-help/ advocacy-type organisations and in volunteer programmes sponsored by government, than in professionalised, bureaucratic voluntary organisations.

Family Care provides a clear illustration of Kramer's professionalised, bureaucratised voluntary organisation. As I have detailed in Chapter Six : **The Professionalisation of Social Work**, this agency made a deliberate move away from volunteer involvement as part of its professionalisation process from the 1950s to the 1970s. Not only were volunteers removed from direct service provision with clients, they were also gradually distanced from decision-making and policy matters. Outside experts (paediatricians, lawyers, psychologists and psychiatrists) became the advisers on individual cases, and the professional social work voice increasingly dominated discussions at committee level.

When the agency initiated a volunteer befriending scheme in 1973, the recruitment, training and support of volunteers was organised on thoroughly "professional" lines. All referrals for befrienders came from professional social workers to the Volunteers' Organiser who was responsible for assessing would-be volunteers (and rejecting unsuitable candidates), and for making a match between individual volunteer's personal qualities and the family for which the volunteer was sought. Thereafter, the relationship between the volunteer and the client was carefully monitored and reviewed at regular intervals.

The Volunteer Scheme has grown since then, and has remained an important part of the services offered by the agency. But tensions around in the beginnings of the project have remained, and give substance to some of Kramer's caution about the real impact of volunteerism on voluntary agencies. In her report on the first three years of the Volunteer Scheme, Beth Humphries (1976) points out the difficulty in integrating the scheme with the other work of the agency. She identifies a "polite and careful distance" being maintained by social workers, who gave only "lip service to the contribution of the lay person."⁵²¹ Humphries later pursued this subject in a doctoral study of the ideologies of social workers and volunteers in statutory social work settings. Here she is much more outrightly critical of what she sees as the "colonised mentality" of volunteers in professional social work settings. She describes them as "oppressors and oppressed" :-

"They were oppressed in that they were powerless to define themselves and their contribution, and their continuing as volunteers depended upon their acceptance of the professionals' world view. They were oppressors in that they had become part of a social work professional ideology and as representatives of the social work department were in a position to become carriers of dominant values and beliefs."⁵²²

The Volunteer Scheme at Family Care has continued to function as a separate part of the agency's activities, separate even from the group which has serviced single parent families. Volunteers have had no automatic part in the overall life of the agency, though in 1987 a befriender was for the first time invited to join the Executive Committee. A new off-shoot of the Volunteer Scheme, Youth Link, was begun in 1984 with central government funding (Unemployed Voluntary Action Fund money). When no new funding could be secured in 1988 Youth Link was terminated, in spite of whole-scale opposition from agency volunteers and service-users.

Clients have not fared any better in terms of democratic involvement or agency participation. Although the agency has made very good use of some of its adopters as committee members and committee chairmen, there has been no opportunity for single parents to contribute to agency policy and practice at any level.⁵²³ When Family Care experienced a serious cut in local authority grant-aid in 1990, women from the agency's centre in Muirhouse were encouraged to express their disapproval at a city-centre demonstration led by professional social workers. At the same time, however, Family Care has found itself extremely ambivalent about proposals for local self-management for the Muirhouse project.⁵²⁴

There is one group which has in the past played an active part in agency management, that is, the volunteer fund-raisers. Until very recently, there was an expectation that all committee members would also be involved in some aspect of fund-raising for the agency, hence the strong overlap between committee members and volunteers who worked in the shops and who organised coffee mornings and sales. However, with the new orientation towards a professional Executive Committee, this link has been severed. Today only one committee member is a fundraiser, while the others are all professionals from within and outwith the agency.

In conclusion, I agree with Kramer that voluntary agencies are not necessarily the value-guardians that we might expect or wish them to be. Family Care, by being so tied to the virtues of professionalism, has chosen to underplay the importance of participation and community involvement, even to the extent of marginalising and undervaluing its own Volunteer Scheme. Pockets of participation and self-help are visible in specific agency projects, such as the Muirhouse project, but these have had little impact on the dominant professional ideology of the agency.

One final point must be made on the value guardian role and volunteerism. When Family Care began its Volunteer Scheme in 1973, there was widespread interest throughout

the social work world in volunteering. Volunteer projects became very popular in Edinburgh in the 1970s, very likely in part in response to the Aves Report of 1969.⁵²⁵ Lothian Region Social Work Department appointed its own Divisional Volunteers' Co-ordinator in 1975, overseeing the work of two other locally-based volunteers' organisers. It has been calculated that around this time, no less than 1171 volunteers were working in sixty social work area teams in mainland Scotland, carrying out mainly befriending and practical tasks.⁵²⁶ Also in the early 1970s, Edinburgh Volunteer Bureau, Edinburgh Community Transport, and the Citizens Advice Bureau were all launched by Edinburgh Council of Social Service. (At national level, 1973 marked the beginnings of the central government-funded Volunteer Centre, set up to "promote current developments in volunteering and to foster the development of new opportunities for individual volunteers, voluntary agencies and community groups."⁵²⁷)

All of these developments confirm that while volunteering may be an important feature of voluntary welfare, the use of volunteers has never been solely confined to the voluntary sector. This suggests that we cannot hold up volunteer effort as something which distinguishes voluntary from statutory welfare provision. The reality is much more complex and inter-meshed, in the same way as

we have already seen in terms of the voluntary sector's role as pioneer.

9.6 The Improver Role and Advocacy

Kramer⁵²⁸ notes that apart from their functions as pioneers and promoters of volunteerism, voluntary agencies are also supposed to serve as "a progressive force for an enlightened and humane social policy." There is, he asserts, both a moral and legal sanction for voluntary agencies "to mediate between the citizen and the state."

Without doubt, the NVA saw itself as an improver and mediator. As I have described in Chapter Four :

Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement, the NVA wanted no less than to re-shape the relations between men, women and children in society. This was to be achieved by private encouragement to chastity and good living, and by a public campaign to force the government to take action on matters such as prostitution, pornography and extra-marital sexual behaviour.

When the agency moved away from the vigilance cause in the direction of professional casework, it gave up some of its claim to speak on behalf of its constituencies. Professional practice mitigated against public campaigning - notions of confidentiality and

individualised care took higher priority than changing public opinion or challenging government.

At the same time, a new specialised pressure-group had entered the field, with the setting up of the Scottish Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child (SCUM) in 1942. As SCUM's authority and importance grew, so it was SCUM which began to take the leading role in co-ordinating activities of voluntary organisations working with unmarried mothers; in pressing central government for a better deal for single parents; and in urging local authorities to improve services to enable unmarried mothers to keep their babies. Some of SCUM's work was overtly political, for example its decision to work to close down mother and baby homes as they existed in Scotland in the 1960s ; and its encouragement for the Guild of Service to introduce an abortion counselling service in 1971. The Guild of Service (later Family Care) continued to work very closely with SCUM (later Scottish Council for Single Parents), with the broad understanding that one agency would concentrate on service provision while the other would take the greater share in the more political activities.⁵²⁹

There have been two main areas, nevertheless, in which Family Care has continued to play an important improving function. The first relates to securing adequate funding for voluntary sector services ; the second centres on

improving standards of professional practice in voluntary and statutory agencies alike. Much of this work was carried out by the Family Care Director, Janet Lusk, through various groupings and committees on which she exerted a very powerful presence (often in the role of chairman), notably the Standing Conference on Adoption, the Scottish Association of Voluntary Child Care Organisations, the Association of Directors of Social Work, and the Houghton Committee into adoption practice. More recently, Family Care has also contributed to the public debate on human fertilisation through representations to the Warnock Committee, and publication of a book of essays, Truth and the Child.⁵³⁰

The picture I have painted is of an essentially conservative organisation, concerned to improve standards of practice and maintain its own position, but steering clear of any contemporary political campaigning, for example around reductions in child benefit, or the introduction of harsh new restrictions on benefit payments to single parents. There is little to suggest here of real advocacy or empowerment, as supported by the welfare pluralists - of voluntary organisations as a means towards "enfranchising thousands of people in this country for whom other opportunities to meet human needs and influence decision making are remote and haphazard."⁵³¹

Matthews (1989) in his study of voluntary organisations and empowerment suggests that the costs of enhancing the individual's access to powerful decisions about his/her life and the services which he/she requires should never be minimised. These costs are not simply financial consequences, but constitute real challenges to what he calls "the accepted way of doing things or to professional judgement or to bureaucratic separateness."⁵³² In other words, for Family Care to live up to the promises of the improving role and advocacy, the agency would need to take a major shift in direction - one which thus far, it has not been prepared to do.

9.7 The Service Provider Role

The voluntary sector has occupied two very different positions in terms of service-provision. During the nineteenth century and, I will argue, right up until the 1970s, voluntary agencies were responsible for catering for the bulk of social need not met by the informal sector of family and friends - they were, in effect, primary service providers. Although legislation from the 1870s onwards had started the process of a shift towards statutory services and statutory control,⁵³³ it was not until the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 that provision was on a scale likely to usurp the traditional place of voluntary organisations. Since then, voluntary agencies have been engaged in the process of creating a

new role for themselves, largely as supplementary and complementary service providers, as the local authorities have taken over responsibility for a comprehensive range of primary services. Voluntaries have struggled to build a meaningful partnership with local authorities, a partnership which is prefaced by an acceptance of the much more powerful position of the statutory agencies.

We can see the beginnings of a shift in the relationship between the statutory and voluntary agencies engaged in the provision of services for children in the Children Act of 1948. The Children Act had two main purposes - to make new provision for children deprived of a normal home life who had previously been catered for by the Poor Law, and to put into effect the principal recommendations of the Curtis (in England and Wales)⁵³⁴ and the Clyde (in Scotland)⁵³⁵ committees. In addition, the Act allowed local authorities to make grants to voluntary childcare agencies ; and at the same time, introduced new regulations for monitoring children in residential care and children who were boarded out by voluntary agencies.

Two important factors must be taken into account in an analysis of the Children Act. The first is that representatives from powerful voluntary organisations (including the Guild of Service) were involved in the process of drawing up the legislation. In other words, this was not statist legislation imposed on a reluctant

voluntary sector. Rather, voluntary organisations saw the need for a greater role for the state, and a tightening up and improving of general standards of care for children.

The second relates to the very poor resourcing of the Act. In spite of its universalist aspirations, funding levels were extremely low. Large cities like Edinburgh were serviced by a small staff of one Children's Officer and three assistants, all untrained and unqualified.⁵³⁶ Jim Johnston, first Director of the new Social Work Department in Glasgow in 1969, has described the old child care and welfare departments as "grim" :-

"They had to exist, by law. But many of them existed in little more than nominal form, and depended for their effect on tiny numbers of people who rarely had any relevant training. They provided rudimentary services for the old and the handicapped and, in rather greater measure, for deprived children. If the people running these services in the community were few in number and ill-equipped in training, the people responsible for running residential homes and the few day centres were in a much worse situation."⁵³⁷

The impact of the legislation was mixed. While on the one hand the Act expressed for the first time a belief that children should if at all possible live at home with their natural parents, the widening of the net to include

neglected and delinquent children meant that far more children were taken into care than ever before.⁵³⁸

Similarly, although the Act expressed a preference that children in care should live in a home environment, that is in foster-care or small, family-type children's homes, in reality, the buildings which the Children's Committees had to work with in the early years were old Poor Law residential nurseries and very large children's homes, and significantly, voluntary children's homes.

All of this was good news for a progressive voluntary agency like the Guild of Service. Agency services were in big demand ; there was money to pay for the maintenance of children in care ; and the agency staff found little inconvenience in having to comply with the new regulations on movements of children to and from fostercare, children's home and adoptive placement.⁵³⁹ Meanwhile, the Guild of Service was free to pioneer new developments in childcare, and to set a high example for the statutory agencies to follow. (See Section 9.4 The Vanguard Role)

It is to the late 1960s and 1970s that we must turn to uncover the emergence of a major shift in the statutory-voluntary relationship.⁵⁴⁰ The practical repercussions on the Guild of Service and other voluntary childcare agencies of the implementation of the 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act and the local government re-organisation

which followed soon after in 1975 were massive, changing for ever the power balance between statutory and voluntary services.

The central proposition contained in the Social Work (Scotland) Act was that each local authority would be responsible to "promote social welfare, by making available advice, guidance and assistance on such a scale as may be appropriate for their area."⁵⁴¹ Various circulars clarified this to explain that every person had a right to a service appropriate to his or her needs. Social work was to become a universal service - "one door for everyone to knock on" - for all people, not just the residuum. The Social Work (Scotland) Act clearly states that the role of the voluntary sector is defined an *addition* to the broad sweep of statutory services - to "supplement local authority work" and to be a "stimulus to further progress".⁵⁴² Since all "social welfare" was nominally under the control of the local authority, the onus was on voluntary agencies to negotiate with each other and with the social work departments about the kind of services which they could and should provide.

Under Section 10 of the Act, local authorities were given wide powers to contribute financially to voluntary organisations in the social welfare field. At the same time there was an assumption that these grants should be properly assessed, managed and reviewed, unlike previous

arrangements for grant aid which had been very much ad hoc and individualised.⁵⁴³

In the period leading up to the passing of the 1968 Act, many voluntary organisations expressed nervousness about their futures. Guild of Service Director, Janet Lusk, wrote in 1963 that she envisaged the possible redundancy of the agency's work in the future. If a statutory family service was set up, she argued :-

"... it is likely that such a family service will eventually cover all the work that the Guild of Service is doing just now for unmarried mothers, and their children, including adoption."⁵⁴⁴

In 1973, the Guild of Service set up a Development Group to review the work and to identify future directions for the agency.⁵⁴⁵ Similar exercises took place in other voluntary organisations around this time, as the voluntary sector as a whole tried to come to terms with the changing welfare climate.⁵⁴⁶ The outcome of almost eighteen months of deliberations by the Development Group was that there was a need to change the constitution - to "streamline the committee structure" so that decision-making about the agency's future direction would be more straightforward and more in touch with staff views :-

"It was decided that the Development Group could make its most valuable contribution to the Guild's future by mapping out a framework which would enable the

Guild to provide on-going planning and re-assessment."⁵⁴⁷

While agency work was reviewed by the Group, no radical ideas or shifts emerged at this time. There was instead a recognition of the gradual shifting of priorities in favour of specialisation - from adoption of babies towards homefinding (finding homes for "hard-to-place" children) and from long-term residential care towards moving children on to new placements. Janet Lusk, in letter written in 1975, and much later in an interview with me, expressed her regrets at the failure of the Development Group to make any radical changes at this time.⁵⁴⁸

Organisational analysis offers some helpful insight into the inherent problems in trying to bring about change. Emery and Trist (1965)⁵⁴⁹ suggest that it is often difficult to see "emergent processes" - to see the new potentials in existing tasks and processes. For the Guild of Service and other childcare agencies, this was exacerbated by the reality that for a time, their existing services were in demand as never before.

In practice, the 1968 Act proved a mixed blessing for the voluntary childcare agencies. The combined result of the 1968 Act and 1975 regionalisation was the creation of statutory services on a scale and of a quality hitherto

unknown.⁵⁵⁰ As one Director of a Scottish childcare agency declared, "the boot is on the other foot now."⁵⁵¹ But paradoxically, the expansion of statutory services at this time did not mean the immediate disappearance of the voluntary agencies en masse. Instead, many voluntary agencies, like the Guild of Service (at least in the short-term) did unprecedently well out of this period, as the local authorities found themselves not ready to meet the requirements of the new legislation.

Statutory agencies in the late 1960s and 1970s relied heavily on voluntary agencies to supplement their services, not because they wished to offer service-users a choice, but because they needed a stop-gap while they built up their own social work services. In the late 1960s, the Guild of Service helped out the new Midlothian Social Work Department with the adoptive placement of a backlog of babies and toddlers who were found to be living in residential care ; at the same time, the Guild handled all the adoptions for Clackmannan Social Work Department, which did not then have the expertise to provide its own adoptive service. Statutory agencies also made widespread use of voluntary children's homes - by 1970, all the children living in Edzell Lodge were paid for by one or other local authority (which met two-thirds of the total cost of maintenance.) A study of residential care carried out in 1973 found that all the

voluntary children's homes in Scotland were overcrowded.⁵⁵²

In the longer term, while making use of voluntary services, the new Social Work Departments were at the same time building up their own resources and expertise, in casework services, adoption and residential childcare. Interviews with respondents who came from local authority settings to work at the Guild of Service in the 1970s confirm that although the agency still held onto its reputation as a centre of excellence, incoming social workers found that the actual social work practice of the agency was by now of a very similar standard to that of social work departments.⁵⁵³

Voluntary agencies fought hard to try to achieve a reasonable degree of consultation with statutory agencies with regard to planning of childcare policy and practice. Although co-operation was achievable in the 1960s and 1970s over specific practical examples like adoption, real partnership was much more elusive. Janet Lusk has described to me how difficult statutory agencies post-Regionalisation found it to respond to general questions about their policy and priorities, even when these questions came from collective groupings of voluntary bodies such as the Scottish Association of Voluntary Child Care Organisations.⁵⁵⁴ This made it extremely difficult for voluntary agencies to determine their own

priorities, and to establish services which were significantly different from those of local authority, and yet still in line with authority policy. Brenton (1985) agrees that "partnership" has often been illusive :-

"The understanding of "partnership" as a collaborative relationship between local authorities and local voluntary organisations through which each carries a joint responsibility for planning, policy-making and implementation as part of a whole, and where voluntary agencies enjoy parity of status and influence, is one that exists more in theory than in reality."⁵⁵⁵

Mike Stone in a study of changes in childcare in the period 1978 to 1984 identifies 1980 as the critical point for voluntary childcare agencies. Up until then, in spite of increasing statutory provision, voluntary children's homes continued to have waiting lists, and to take an ever-increasing percentage of children who were officially in the care of the local authority and paid for by statutory agencies. Within a few years, voluntary children's homes throughout Scotland were faced with closure, as the tide had turned away from residential care for children,⁵⁵⁶ and as the Social Work Departments found it cheaper and preferable to use their own accommodation.⁵⁵⁷ Stone expresses this vividly :-

"When change came it came suddenly with hurricane ferocity driving the voluntary fleet before it and

overwhelming many caught by surprise ... Managers of those voluntary societies which had survived went off to the SWDs and saw officials and councillors for guidance, for some relief of hardship and to look for a role. But there was no masterplan for the future and not much in the relief fund."⁵⁵⁸

The outcome was the closure of many voluntary homes, and a change in direction towards more specialist provision for the few which survived. Family Care managed to hold out for another few years by changing the focus of Edzell Lodge away from long-term residential care of children towards short-term work, helping to prepare children to move on to new families or to return home again - in other words, by adopting the role of short-term supplementer once more. Then in 1984 Family Care was forced to close Edzell Lodge completely, as the local authority preferred to use its own children's homes and foster-care as a means of preparing children for new families.⁵⁵⁹

Here we can see the inherent dangers in fulfilling a role of "gap-filling" in services for local authorities. Such time-limited supplementation for local authority services may allow the agency to continue, but it does not provide conditions for long-term development. Kramer (1981) argues :-

"Over a long period, supplementing or compensating for

a lack of statutory resources is a weak rationale for a voluntary agency, which loses its distinctiveness by being just another nongovernmental public-service provider."⁵⁶⁰

Kramer goes on to suggest that long-term supplementation, by compensating for deficiencies in the statutory services, may displace other traditional voluntary roles, such as pioneer and advocate, and may deter or delay the implementation of governmental responsibility. This was the inevitable "catch-22" situation in which Family Care found itself. Maintaining existing services meant that there were few spare resources either of money or of people to establish new services.

Before going on to examine the new role for the non-statutory sector of primary provider of services which is being championed by current legislation, it is fair to point out that the picture I have presented of voluntary agencies forced into the supplementary role does not represent a true picture for *all* voluntary agencies in the 1970s and 1980s. In spite of the rise in statutory welfare, voluntary welfare increased unprecedently over this period. Literally thousands of new voluntary agencies have grown up, very many of them fore-fronting the value guardian and improver roles, but providing services at the same time to their members - services which are often qualitatively different to those provided

by statutory agencies. Some of these new agencies have been small-scale, locally-based self-help groups or single issue campaigns. But new national voluntary organisations have also emerged since 1970, such as Age Concern Scotland, Citizens Advice Scotland, Scottish Council for the Single Homeless and Scottish Association for Mental Health. In 1991 in Scotland, in addition to the thousands of volunteers, there were 12,500 full-time employed staff and the gross income to voluntary organisations was about £1.5 billion per annum.⁵⁶¹

9.8 The Voluntary Sector in the 1990s

Social work departments throughout Scotland are currently re-organising themselves to meet the requirements of yet more legislation, this time the NHS and Community Care Act of 1990. The language of "consumer choice" and "decentralisation of budgets" has entered the social work arena, and local authorities are becoming "purchasers" and "monitors" rather than necessarily providers of care. Voluntary agencies, in turn, are being invited to compete with one another and the private and statutory sectors to see who can provide the most "cost-effective" services. At the same time, all voluntary agencies are being subject to a three-yearly review process, again in line with government guidelines.⁵⁶² Lothian's review of Family Care, carried out in 1989/1990 detailed what the authority was prepared to pay for, and how the agency should progress in order to secure future funding, and

resulted in a large cut to the agency's budget the following year.

Stephen Maxwell (1989) from the Scottish Council of Voluntary Organisations sums up the difficult choices facing the voluntary sector :-

"It can refuse to commit itself to the market as defined by the government, in which case it must expect its public funding to decline. Or it can commit itself to the market, in which case it is colluding with, indeed actively facilitating, the replacement of public service provision by contracted out private or "third sector" provision on terms unfavourable to its clients. There is a third course which experience suggests is the one adopted by the majority of voluntary organisations - to engage with the market while protesting the need for a high level of public provision, on the principle that if you can't ride two horses at the same time you've no damn business in the circus."⁵⁶³

Kate Priestley, Director of Family Care from 1984 to 1988, and now Assistant Director of Newcastle Social Services Department, predicts that in the future, only the reasonably large voluntary organisations will be able to survive - "they will be able to spread the risks and ride the rough times." (These "rough times" have been spelt out fully in an examination of the impact on

voluntary organisations in Scotland of the government transition from the Community Programme to Employment Training - a transition which resulted in the loss of 5,000 social care training places in Scotland.⁵⁶⁴

While at Family Care, Kate Priestley tried to negotiate a merger between Family Care and Aberlour Childcare Trust, as a way of broadening the base and strengthening the bargaining position of both agencies. However, after she resigned as Director, merger plans were abandoned.⁵⁶⁵

The present Director, Jennifer Speirs, admits to some scepticism about the present concentration in social work circles on managerialist, as opposed to professional social work values. She sees it as "morally wrong" to charge birth parents and adopted people to place their names on the Adoption Contact Register, but accepts the notion of asking for donations for adoption searches. She believes that a strong statutory social work department is necessary, and sees the rightful role of the voluntary sector as a complement, not substitute for local authority services.⁵⁶⁶

Family Care now faces one of three possible scenarios for the future. The agency may continue on the same course, diminishing its services as it finds it increasingly difficult to secure public or private backing for what has become a very specialised, disparate and narrow group of services.⁵⁶⁷ It seems likely that the agency will

then be forced to close. Alternatively, Family Care may choose to embrace wholeheartedly the ideology of the free market, commercialising its potentially profitable existing services, such as the Adoption Counselling Centre, and using the money raised to pay for some other less sellable services for clients. Given the current Director's attitudes to privatisation of services, this course of action would not seem to be acceptable.

Or Family Care may decide to change its focus and direction and make a bid for the new funding which is likely to be available in the years ahead, either as a provider of community care services, or in an inspectorial/ consultancy role. To be successful in this objective, the agency would have to change not only its client-group and range of services, but also the way in which services are administered. There would have to be a much greater commitment on the agency's part to local projects and participative management than has been the approach to date. Alternatively, the agency may have to cease providing services itself, and concentrate instead on the quality assurance, consultancy function.

9.9 Summary

Which ever course is taken by this agency, the overall outlook for welfare provision remains quite unclear. While some of the popular ideas may be expected to bring about an improvement in the delivery of services - the

greater emphasis on consumer involvement and choice, the stress on participation and devolving of power - in reality, these changes are being introduced in an environment of cuts in funding and the removal of control from local to central government.

Clark (1991)⁵⁶⁸ warns that voluntary agencies "will need to be careful that what is offered as "partnership" does not turn out to be domestication enforced by the choke-collar of the service contract." He continues :-

"Flying the colours of liberalism and in the name of a rationalist ethic of efficiency, functional devolution and accountability, the forces of government are covertly being mustered in the service of a dirigism and centralism which would make an old-fashioned socialist blush."⁵⁶⁹

Family Care stands as an example of an agency which has achieved a degree of excellence in its service delivery. It has pioneered new approaches and encouraged others, including statutory agencies, to make improvements and to take on new ideas. But it also illustrates the potential vulnerabilities in a voluntary agency - its inability to make decisive changes as it has become caught up in its own professionalised, institutionalised system; its difficulty in raising funds for projects which are unpopular or "out of fashion" with current trends in social work; its potential for marginality given its

small-scale provision of services; its non-participative, hierarchical organisation, illustrated by the lack of user-involvement in the decision-making process, and the under-valuing of its volunteer workers.

I hope that in the future a mixed economy of welfare will be allowed to survive, which will have a place for agencies like this one. But that is a long way from suggesting that state services should be displaced by voluntary ones, as welfare pluralism proposes. On the contrary, I agree with Matthews' (1992) assertion that the voluntary sector *depends* on good statutory welfare provision :-

"... for a balanced provision to emerge, it must be based not on false notions of welfare pluralism or the mirage of free choice between equally known and valuable services, but rather on a mixed economy based on a re-appraisal of the relative strengths and weaknesses of the statutory as against the voluntary sector, and on a genuine attempt to harness the strength of advocacy and specialism which are the hallmarks of voluntary bodies and the quest for equity which lies at the heart of state provision."⁵⁷⁰

Figure 8

annual income: thrift shop and government grants

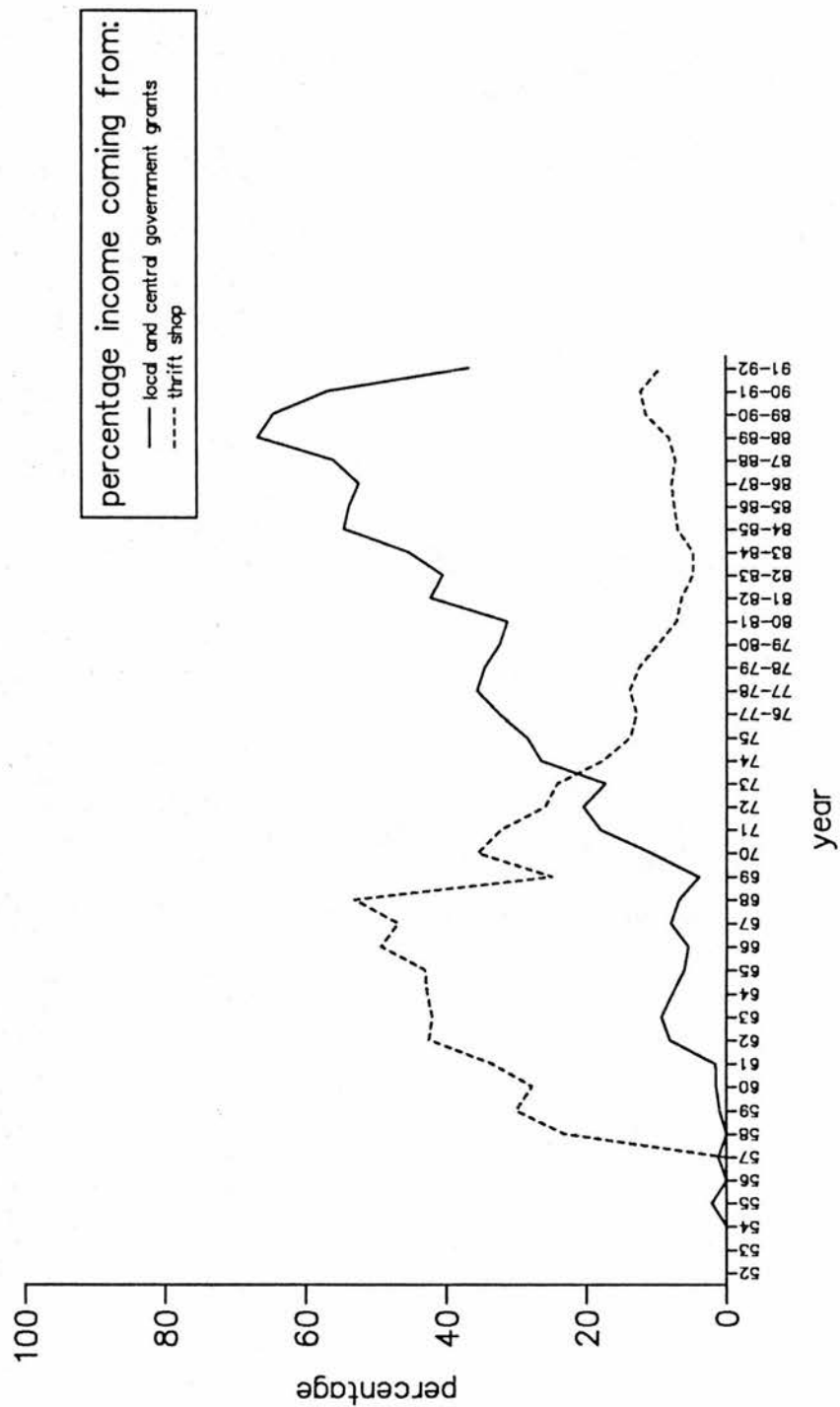


Figure 8 - Notes

1. Source - Guild of Service/Family Care Annual Reports.

2. I have chosen to concentrate here on an examination of two key funding sources rather than to try to show all sources of income.

3. Thrift Shop figures relate not only to the Thrift Shop which opened in 1957, but also the Thrift Book Centre which began in 1975.

4. The graph illustrates the great importance of Thrift Shop income to the agency, most particularly in the mid to late 1960s, when income generated amounted to almost 50 per cent of total agency income. During the 1970s and 1980s, Thrift Shop income fluctuated considerably. However much more significant was the fact that the Thrift Shop was now only contributing about 5 to 10 per cent of total agency income.

5. Government grants apply to the annual grants given to Family Care by local and central government sources. They do not include sums received in maintenance payments for children in Edzell Lodge.

6. The graph clearly shows the agency's increasing dependence on government funding, rising steadily to over 60 per cent by the late 1980s. The figures also vividly demonstrate the complex impact of cutbacks in government funding. A cut in funding leads to cuts in services which can be provided, which in turn leads to more cuts in funding. In only 2 years, percentage income from government sources fell from 60 per cent to 40 per cent.

7. Other funding sources not portrayed here were also decreasing from the 1970s onwards - covenants, donations, and legacies. This was in part due to wealthy subscribers dying out ; and also as a direct consequence of the reduction in adoption figures (adopters frequently took out covenants as a form of thanks to the agency.) In addition, with far more charities in Edinburgh calling on public support, there may be simply less money around to support agencies like Family Care.

Figure 9
income and expenditure
(current prices)

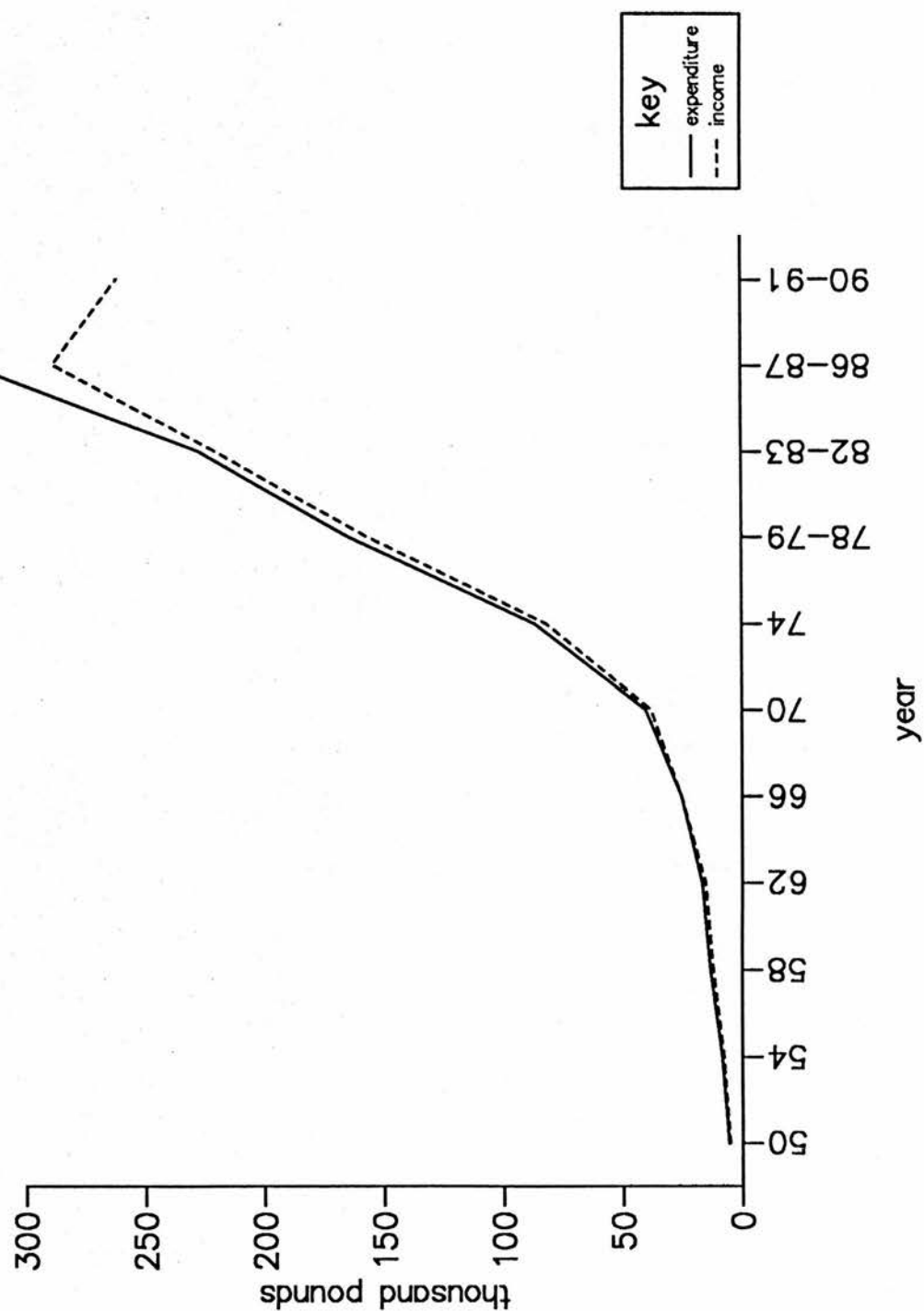


Figure 9 - Notes

1. Source - Guild of Service/Family Care Annual Reports.
2. These figures may be somewhat unreliable, because the earlier figures do not include what were termed "additional grants" which the agency raised to cover its deficits. Nevertheless, they do show that income and expenditure roughly kept apace with one another, until the mid 1980s when the discrepancy between income and expenditure began to grow significantly.
3. This expenditure rise has been related to increases in the salary costs of the agency, which have meant that although the work of the agency has been reduced (most significantly by the closure of Edzell Lodge Children's Home in 1984), the expenditure on salaries has not fallen as much as might have been anticipated.
(Interview, 19-3-91)
4. The figures also illustrate the drastic reduction in local and central government funding of Family Care from 1986 onwards. (See also Figure 8.)

CHAPTER TEN

THE SOCIAL WORK TASK - DISCOURSE AND POWER

10.1 Overview

I began this research project with the intention of reaching a better understanding about social work. Four years and over 80,000 words⁵⁷¹ later I believe that I have achieved this objective - that I am better informed about the origins and development of the various strands which make up social work. I am also clear however that my study has raised as many questions as it has answered, and this chapter will examine some of these key questions in more depth. To set the scene, I will re-cap on the main conclusions from the substantive chapters in the thesis.

Chapter Four **Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement** examined the period in Family Care's history which at first sight seemed most alien to what we might regard as social work practice. The street patrolling, the investigation of brothels, and the very public campaigns around sexuality appeared to be (and of course were) of a very different era. It would be easy for us to look back on the work of the NVA with amused superiority or even critical self-righteousness, believing that we are much less punitive and less judgmental in our approach to extra-marital sexual behaviour and to young people at risk of sexual exploitation.

I have argued, however, that the work of the NVA is not just a colourful illustration of a bygone age. It is more important than that. In the passing of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1885, there was a significant shift away from individual, philanthropic solutions to the problem of the control of sexual conduct towards an acceptance of a role for the state in intervening in the lives of citizens. This shift can be seen over a wide spectrum of activity, in the host of statutes passed towards the end of the nineteenth century which legitimated precisely this new role for the state and its executives - teachers, health visitors, doctors and social workers.

The protagonists involved in bringing about this shift were middle-class men and women ; the people who were the targets of their action were largely poor working-class women (although it is important to remember that the anti-homosexual legislation cut across all classes, and may have been anti-aristocratic in origin.) The middle-class women who were so influential at this time were predominantly feminists who used a moral language of evangelical Christianity to explain and justify their actions and behaviour. The objects of their attention - abused, abandoned, unemployed and homeless young women - are likely to have had quite a contradictory relationship with the vigilance cause, which set out to protect them

from further abuse, but often did so by removing them from family and friends and locking them in institutions.

This takes me to Chapter Five **Secularisation and Social Work**. Here I have argued that although Christian language and practices may have disappeared from official social work terminology and intervention, the values and knowledge base of social work still bears strong witness to Christian ideas - ideas about sexual morality, and about the individual, the community and service. Social work has re-packaged some of these ideas into new, more acceptable language, and combined them with other strands to make up the phenomenon we know as social work. I have also been interested to discover that many social workers and committee members (at least in this voluntary agency) grew up in strongly Christian families, even if they are not practising Christians today.

Chapter Six **The Professionalisation of Social Work** and Chapter Seven **The Psychiatric Deluge?** are companion chapters. The first tells the story of the internal struggle within social work to transform and upgrade the work of social work into a professional service ; the second describes one of the principal ways in which this was achieved, that is, through the adoption of theory and practice derived from psychology and psycho-analysis.

What has concerned me most in these chapters has been to challenge some of our received wisdom about the professionalisation process - the assumption that it was a smooth, "natural", politically neutral process, in which "good, scientific, modern" methods replaced "bad, unprofessional, old-moded" practices. Instead I have suggested that professionalisation must be regarded as a battle waged in the early stages by middle-class women to achieve equal status in their working lives to that which they expected to enjoy in their private lives. I have also examined the way in which men have been able to take advantage of the professionalisation process, to build their own careers in social work management.

The psy discourse had a critical part to play in the development of the profession of social work. It provided the expert knowledge, language and terminology, and some of the expert practices (for example, intelligence testing) which set apart professional social work from what had gone before, and from what was still being carried out in some social work settings. But the psy discourse did not impinge only on social work. It became the accepted framework for all those new professionals involved in intervening in the lives of citizens, and, with its emphasis on prevention and treatment, it provided a rationale for intervention in family life on a scale which would hitherto have been unacceptable.

Chapter Eight **Women and the Social Work Task** picks up a strong undercurrent which runs throughout this thesis and throughout the history of social work, that is, the role of women as service-providers, service-users and service-managers. Here I have suggested that women have a contradictory relationship to the social work task - that social work has provided middle-class women with a career route and a means of self-satisfaction, while at the same time exploiting the working-class women who shoulder the burden of responsibility for basic care in social work. Likewise, social work has given working-class (and a few middle-class) clients the opportunity for material and emotional support in times of difficulty. But this must be seen in the context of an ever-increasing role for social work in monitoring and controlling working-class families.

My argument has rested finally on two rather different themes in this chapter. First, I have suggested that feminist analyses of social work are not sufficient explanation for the diversity of women's experiences - that we must also foreground class, race and other oppressions. Second, I have argued that no discourse should be regarded as pure and unchanging - therefore feminism cannot be understood without accepting the highly influential part which gendered and familial ideas have played in its development, just as social work

inevitably carries within it aspects of both care and control.

My last substantive chapter, Chapter Nine **Voluntary Social Work - A Moving Frontier** again surveys the entire historical period, 1911 to 1991, but this time centres on the ever-present debate about who *should* and *should not* provide social welfare. During the twentieth century, we have seen a steady move towards an acceptance of the idea that basic provision should be met, or at least paid for, by the state. Voluntary agencies found themselves increasingly in the role of supplementers of statutory services, or short-term "gap-fillers" until statutory agencies were ready and able to take over provision themselves. More recently, the tide has turned away from the notion of state services, and non-statutory (voluntary and private) agencies are being held up as the best way forward for the provision of more democratic, more participative, and more varied social services.

I have highlighted some of the inadequacies in this approach, and have drawn attention to the contradictions within current developments. While the rhetoric may be about consumer choice and local management, the reality is that these changes are being introduced at a time of decreasing resources. Likewise, devolved power and decision-making on the one hand is being matched by a tighter control on non-statutory agencies, with local

authorities taking on the roles of both purchaser and monitor of services.

10.2 Continuity and Change in Social Work

In writing a history of social work, I have been writing a history of what certain discourses have had to say about social work - about its purpose and its goals, its subjects and its objects, its parameters and its aspirations, that is, its *task*. I have argued that social work cannot be understood outwith the discourses (the ensembles of beliefs, concepts, ideas and practices) which create and define its substance. Foucault (1972)⁵⁷² suggests that discourses do not have coherence, though conventional histories of ideas assume that they do. Instead, he proposes, there are contradictions, differences, returns to the past, changes, disavowals and polemics.

In this case-study of the development of the social work task, there have been many examples of both continuity and change in the discursive formation we call social work. I have accepted, along with Foucault, Donzelot and many others⁵⁷³ that there has been a general transformation since the end of the nineteenth century towards an acceptance of a legitimate role for the state and statutory agencies (including voluntary agencies maintained by statutory funds) in terms of monitoring and controlling the behaviour of citizens, and that this has

been made possible because of the development of what Foucault has described as "the disciplinary society." In addition, new discourses around medicine, criminology, pedagogics, and later psycho-analysis and social work have created new ways of investigating, over-seeing and regulating the population. This shift has been regarded as positive and welcome - women and children are no longer viewed as solely the property of husbands and fathers, and intervention has brought with it the possibility of protection and support for less powerful family members. On the other hand, the enlarging of the educative/preventive role has given the new psy professionals a much greater potential for involvement and control in the lives of all citizens, not simply those labelled as troublesome or in difficulty.

Alongside this general shift, there have been many moments in the history of social work when contradictory strands pulled in quite different directions. I have argued that professionalisation was an area of contestation and struggle both within and outwith the social work movement, and that the impulse towards a bigger and more powerful social work product has always been tempered by a voice of caution. At times this voice has been expressed by conservatives who have stressed the importance of liberal values of autonomy and independence ; at other times, this has been a radical marxist or feminist voice, decrying social work's bias

towards social control, and urging instead for social reform to take precedence. The result has been that social work has not become the fully professionalised institution which it might have been. Social work students still come on social work courses believing that their task is to change society rather than individuals. Social work does not yet have a General Council (though this is currently under negotiation again.)

Discourses have not only been oppositional, however. There have been times when discourses have been appropriated by individuals and groups and have been used in what we might think of as surprising ways. Although Christian ethics and biblical teaching have been used in the past to justify women's inferior position, feminists at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries picked up and used for their own ends this very language and ethical system to reinforce their arguments for greater equality for women. Similarly, some feminists have recently re-discovered the usefulness and value of Freudian ideas and are developing a feminist psycho-analysis, in spite of the women's movement's early rejection of Freud's theories and methods.

Sometimes the consequences of the development of different discourses in social work have been positive for some, and negative for others. As I have described, the professionalisation process brought higher status and

higher salaries for paid staff, but effectively squeezed out for a time the contribution of unpaid workers. Although volunteers are now back on the social work scene, social work professionals still guard very carefully their special expertise and their right to control and limit the work of volunteers.

I have so far noted both a general transformation and some contradictory and unexpected features in the development of the social work task. There are also some strands within social work which have shown remarkable resilience throughout this period, although at times the language used to describe them has been updated. Alongside the growth of the welfare state and statutory provision, I have discovered a number of important continuities. Themes have persisted around the idea of a sexual double standard and the essential vulnerability of women and girls. Women and girls (as I have described in Chapter Four) are still treated differently by both the caring and the controlling aspects of social work - social work still concentrates on protecting women and girls through controlling their behaviour and movements, while often allowing the behaviour of men and boys to go unchallenged. (A new feminist critique of masculinity is currently struggling to be heard within mainstream social work practice.⁵⁷⁴)

Our attitudes to social welfare and service-users are still very much influenced by older, often unacknowledged ideas about the principles of deterrence and less-eligibility, about deserving and undeserving poor, and about the individuation of cases - ideas which have their origins in concepts and values associated with the Poor Law and the work of the Charity Organisation Society. Social work's stress on client self-determination (sometimes re-defined today as *empowerment* of clients), and its emphasis on working with individuals and families, has strong connections with nineteenth century ideas about individual self-help and about "helpable" cases. Although for a time in the 1970s social work expanded its horizons to include groupwork and community work approaches, it never seriously moved away from its concentration on individual and family solutions to what have often been structural problems, rooted in poverty and inequality rather than individual deficiency or mismanagement. And routine social work practice is still largely based on an assumption that the relationship between the social worker and the client is paramount, echoing again nineteenth century beliefs in the importance of the exemplary model of the philanthropic visitor.

However, I believe that this presents an overly bleak view of the development of the social work task. As I have argued, there has been no necessary unity and

uniformity in the social work discursive formation. There has been no one, singular social work entity. Rather, a number of discourses have operated simultaneously, challenging one another, and mediating each other's impact, and at times, operating without any internal coherence themselves. (The development of social work within Family Care illustrates this well.) In other words, discourses have contradicted themselves as well as one another, as I will go on to examine more fully in relation to care and control in the social work task.

10.3 Care and Control in the Social Work Task

A prominent theme running through social work literature since the late 1970s has been the notion that social work is in a state of crisis, with social workers having lost confidence and a sense of direction in their work. This has been attributed to a growth of radicalism in higher education since the late 1960s, and an increasing reluctance on the part of social workers to take social inequality for granted. (Social work students with whom I am working today express just such sentiments.) In addition, it has been suggested that social workers have been finding it increasingly difficult to reconcile the contradictory "care" and "control" aspects implicit in their jobs.⁵⁷⁵

The "social work in crisis" discourse carries with it two assumptions, sometimes expressed, and sometimes not. The first assumption is that care and control aspects were at some point in the past institutionally separate.

Satyamurti (1979) elaborates :-

"On the one hand was individual-oriented attention to particular need ; on the other, punitive, deterrent rule-governed activities. The first was the sphere of private philanthropy, from within which the occupation of social work developed. The second was the business of the poor law."⁵⁷⁶

She goes on to suggest that there has been an increasing convergence between the two strands, confronting social workers with irreconcilable objectives, and contributing to the sense of crisis.

The second assumption leads on from this point. There is an overwhelming impression that things are getting worse - that the state is getting more intrusive and more powerful, and that the task of social work is therefore becoming more intolerable. Jones (1983)⁵⁷⁷ illustrates this view. He argues that because of the apparent failure of social work to evidence success in terms of rehabilitation and treatment results, social work is finding it difficult to resist the push towards a more narrow and rationing role within state welfare. As a result, the focus in social work is shifting towards containment and control. He cites as examples of this

the reduction in support for services which were at one time seen as "necessary to the restorative work of schools and social workers", for example, nurseries, playgroups and remedial education.

Some feminist critiques of social work, as I have described more fully in Chapter Eight, betray a similar conceptualisation. Social work is blamed for oppressing women, and for maintaining the status quo in terms of existing class and gender inequalities. Social work is "the state in the living room", or as Wilson writes :-

"... a form of containment intended to deal with the problems of society."⁵⁷⁸

My thesis offers a rather different, and I believe a more helpful way of thinking about care and control in social work. I have been able to indicate very clearly that there was no time in the past when care and control were "institutionally separate." On the contrary, care and control have always gone hand in hand. I have shown in Chapter Five that there was little distinction to be made between the "care" offered by philanthropic Magdelene asylums and the "control" of poor law institutions - both functioned on a mixture of reward and punishment, solitary confinement and group activity, and both used hard work as a means of conversion of lost souls.

I have also suggested that those who preach the gospel of ever-increasing state control are missing an important point, that is, that social policy has always been the site of intense struggle and curious contradiction. Social policy, legislation and welfare practices reflect a complex mix of discourses pulling in different directions at the same time. Politicians from both the right and the left have displayed great ambivalence towards increasing statutory controls, as I have illustrated in Chapter Nine. Current community care and childcare legislation plays out some of this ambivalence. The NHS and Community Care Act of 1990 heralds the mixed economy of care, provided by non-statutory as well as statutory agencies, but under the supervision of statutory authorities. In other words, privatisation goes hand-in-hand with increased powers of inspection and financing by local government. Similarly, the Children Act of 1989 illustrates a compromise solution between the need to protect children from danger while at the same time protecting the privacy of the family from unwarranted interventions.⁵⁷⁹

In other words, "the state" works in contradictory ways. But the complexities do not end here. There are real and substantial differences between "the state" as it is encountered at central and local government level, and between different regional authorities' policies. So for example, one regional council social work department

(Highland Region) may continue to use residential care for children, while another (Fife Region) may find itself the subject of a governmental enquiry into its stated policy to keep children out of residential homes.

The "social work in crisis" discourse is illustrative of a wider critique of social control in the 1970s of which radical social work was a part, alongside the anti-psychiatry movement, the de-schooling movement, and developments in criminology. Marxist analyses challenged earlier ideas from the 1950s which had seen the family as the primary agent of social control - social control was here conceptualised as a positive process of encouraging people to conform to society's norms through socialisation in the family. New radical perspectives rejected the functionalism of this approach, and focused more on the external controls which brought about conformity - at the "hard" end, the police, the court and the prison ; and at the "soft" end, schools, youth and community work, and, of course, social work. At its extreme, all state policies began to be seen as forms of social control, and all ameliorative and progressive reforms as merely a subtle camouflage for further repression.⁵⁸⁰ Within social work itself, there was even a splitting between "hard", statutory social work agencies where the "real" work takes place and "soft" voluntary social work agencies. (This characterisation is still familiar today.)

I believe that the general perspective which I have adopted in this thesis - that is, drawing on the work of Foucault and Donzelot - offers a much more rounded understanding of the issue of social control in social work. Foucault urges the introduction of a more historically specific analysis which examines the minute mechanisms of control, rather than concentrating on power in terms of ideology or structure. He suggests that there has been a shift in the forms of social regulation away from punishment which centred on inflicting pain on the body towards a dispersal of control, where welfare and penalty are increasingly intermeshed.⁵⁸¹ Foucault criticises the identification of power with repression, and argues instead that power is broader than the state, and should be considered in its productive aspects as well as its negative ones. He writes :-

"We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms ; it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces ; it produces reality ; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth."⁵⁸²

Using a Foucauldian perspective, there is no distinction to be made between care and control /hard and soft measures of social control in social work. They are both part of the process of "policing" - of managing

populations and individuals - and they have the capacity for drawing on different techniques, inspectorial and regulatory, to achieve this end.

If power is omnipresent, then for Foucault, so is resistance - "points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network." Foucault continues :-

While "great radical ruptures, massive binary divisions" do occur occasionally, "more often one is dealing with mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings."⁵⁸³

Foucault has been criticised for presenting too abstract a concept of power - in his desire to distance himself from a Marxist analysis of the state, it is claimed that he has lost sight of the real inequalities in power relations in society. Likewise he is criticised for suggesting that resistance is as universal and diffuse as the power which produces it. Mort (1987) argues that resistance is rarely a spontaneous eruption from below. Instead, resistance needs a specific language to articulate demands and endow protests with meaning.⁵⁸⁴

My own approach has been to accept, with Foucault and Donzelot, the need for a historically specific analysis of power. I also accept the general principle that power

operates from many and diverse institutional arenas, and that resistance has widespread consequences on the operation of power. I believe in the final analysis that social work is indeed about social control - that this may even be its main function - but I do not see this as necessarily a negative function. On the contrary, since social work is about protecting those people who are vulnerable in society (most often women and children), then I agree with Wise (1985) that this is a "morally proper function in feminist terms".⁵⁸⁵ It is up to us, then, to work towards a non-oppressive, open kind of social control - one which admits the authority we carry as social workers but which seeks to carry out our duties and responsibilities with as much fairness and honesty as possible.

10.4 Private Troubles and Public Issues⁵⁸⁶ in Social Work

So what of social work as an agent of social reform rather than social control?

I have argued that there was a time, in the early days of social work, when social reform was very much on the social work (and social purity) agenda. (See Chapter 6.) I have identified a general shift in this agency, reflected in social work as whole, away from social work as social reform towards social work as a narrowly focused activity carried out by professionally trained individuals under the control and legitimation of

governmental agencies. Although the process was not a smooth or straightforward one, and there have been movements backwards and forwards along the way, I believe that this is now the reality whether social workers are directly employed by statutory authorities or by voluntary professional social work agencies. Even in the era of "care in the community", it will be the local authorities who will inspect voluntary institutions and give out contracts for work on its behalf. (See Chapter Nine.)

There are, of course, examples of agencies which do not fit this privatised, individualised picture. There are a growing number of voluntary agencies and self-help groups striving to challenge existing systems of welfare provision and to bring about a redistribution of resources and power in society. There are also pockets of statutory work which seek to support and empower various underprivileged groups. (Feminist social work initiatives, and innovative work with black service-users and those with learning difficulties illustrate this development.⁵⁸⁷) But it is fair to suggest that most of these more radical projects are not under the auspices of statutory social work as such. They may be community work projects (which have consistently adopted a more radical approach) or small-scale social work initiatives which have little impact on core service-provision.

I believe that following on this shift towards a more individualised service, social work is becoming increasingly bureaucratic and technical, as illustrated by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work's insistence on the centrality of "competences" - a laid-down list of competences which must be achieved by all social work students at the point of qualification.⁵⁸⁸ The task of social work is becoming more regulatory, more inspectorial, and more "masculine" in style ; while the more "feminine", counselling aspects of social work are being increasingly separated off into private or voluntary counselling agencies like Family Care. (See Chapter Seven.)

10.5 The Future for Social Work?

The picture I have presented here may seem depressing and gloomy - that was not my intention. I believe that on the contrary there are some very hopeful signs for social work, and that it is these that I wish to highlight at the end of my thesis.

Mainstream social work has taken on board a number of very important issues in recent years, and is currently struggling with putting these into practice. I include here attempts to carry out not just ethnically sensitive practice, but anti-discriminatory practice. We may criticise movements to include mother-tongue literature in social work offices and to adopt equal opportunities

policies as not going far enough. But I prefer to feel optimistic that at least these matters are now firmly on the agenda for social work.

Likewise, the beginnings of attempts to involve service-users in service-provision must be applauded. It is right that there should be access to files held on clients, and that clients should be drawn into the decision-making processes on individual cases and on agency policy. We may feel sceptical about government's motives for introducing such changes. But that should not prevent us from using the opportunity to press for even more radical changes here.

The question of the sexual abuse of children, and social work's response to it, is very much in the public arena at present. With the Orkney and Fife enquiries being published on the same day, attention has been drawn again to the ever-present dilemma facing social workers dealing with child abuse cases - when should children be removed from home, and when is leaving them at home subjecting them to unreasonable risk? Concerns have been recently expressed by the Childline Director in Scotland that one of the outcomes of the Orkney enquiry may be that children will be afraid to report sexual abuse because of fears of not being believed.⁵⁸⁹ It is too early to hazard a guess about whether or not this is happening in practice. What we do know, however, is that the more

sexual abuse is publicised, the more children and adults have come forward to describe incidents of abuse. I can only hope that greater public awareness of the issue will enable the very many victims of abuse to come forward to receive some kind of support. And I look with interest to the work presently being carried out with male perpetrators of abuse and research into masculinity itself as a way forward in changing public attitudes and perceptions of permissible behaviour.

I also look with hopefulness to the explosion in voluntary advocacy and self-help groups in recent years. I believe that pressure groups like these have a vital role to play in challenging and amending social welfare policy and practice, as well as providing a very useful service by empowering and supporting their members.

I believe in the end it is social work's diversity and its complexity which gives me most cause for optimism. If social work is a polymorphous phenomenon as I have suggested ; if negotiation, contestation and resistance are endemic in social work's formation ; then change is possible. And it is up to us to push for the kind of social work task with which we wish to be associated.

REFERENCES AND FOOTNOTES

Chapter One General Introduction (pp 12 - 28)

¹ This approach fits well with ideas being developed for a feminist ethical code of practice in research. See Nebraska Feminist Collective, 1983, quoted in M. Maynard, *The Re-Shaping of Sociology? Trends in the Study of Gender*.
Sociology (May 1990) Vol.24 No.2 pp269-290

² J.C. Mitchell, (1983) *Case and Situation Analysis*,
Sociological Review 31 Vol 2 pp187-211

³ Likewise social policy histories - see :-
P. Hall, H. Land, R. Parker and A. Webb, (1975) Change, Choice and Conflict in Social Policy
London : Heinemann

⁴ J. Platt (1988) *What can Case Studies Do?*
reprinted in R.G. Burgess, ed. Studies in Qualitative Methodology, Vol 1 1988.
London : Jai Press Ltd, p2

⁵ H.S. Becker (1968) *Social Observation and Case-Studies*,
in D.L. Sills, ed, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
New York : the MacMillan Company and the Free Press,
Vol.11 pp232-8

For a criticism of this approach, see Heclo who describes these case-studies as too relativistic and largely of curiosity value - "a series of isolated, episodic descriptions ... which are apparently thought to be of intrinsic interest."

H.H. Heclo. (1972) *Review Article : Policy Analysis*,
British Journal of Political Science, 2, pp83-108

⁶ Mitchell (1983) *Ib. id.*, p203

Chapter Two Conceptual Approaches (pp 29 - 54)

⁷ For examples of writers in this field, see :-
P. Thompson (1988) The Voice of the Past, 2nd edition,
Oxford : Oxford University Press

K. Plummer (1983) Documents of Life
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⁸ See A. Holdsworth (1988) Out of the Doll's House
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S. Humphries (1988) A Secret World of Sex
London : Sidgwick and Jackson

Also studies by Jane Lewis :-
J. Lewis (1984) Women in England, 1870-1950
Brighton : Wheatsheaf Books

J. Lewis, ed (1986) Labour and Love
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

J. Lewis (1992) Women in Britain since 1945
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

⁹ E.J. Miller and A.K. Rice (1967) Systems of Organisation
London : Tavistock

¹⁰ F.E. Emery and E.L. Trist (1965) Towards a Social Ecology
London : Plenum Publishing

¹¹ See A.R. Negandhi (1969) Inter-organisation Theory
Kent: Kent University State Press

¹² C. Handy (1988) Understanding Organisations
London : Penguin

¹³ E.J. Miller and G.V. Gwynne (1972) A Life Apart
London : Tavistock

¹⁴ At the most simplistic level, what one client might find appropriate formality from a social worker, another might find cold and unfriendly. And how we experience others is also tied up with our own feelings and circumstances unique to that moment in time. Reality is always being re-constructed in social situations. See P. Berger and T. Luckman (1966) The Social Construction of Reality
London : Penguin

¹⁵ F. Hollis (1964) Casework : A Psychosocial Therapy
New York : Random House Press

- 16 R. Rapaport (1958) Normal Crises, Family Structure and Mental Health in H.J. Parad, ed, Ego Psychology and Dynamic Casework
New York : Family Service Association of America
- 17 W.J. Reid and L. Epstein (1972) Task-Centred Casework
New York : Columbia University Press
- 18 H.M. Bartlett (1970) The Common Base of Social Work Practice
New York : National Association of Social Workers
- 19 M. Siporin (1975) Introduction to Social Work Practice
New York : Macmillan
- 20 H.M. Barlett (1970) Ib. id., p129
- 21 British Association of Social Workers Working Party Report, (1977) The Social Work Task Birmingham : BASW
- 22 Barclay Committee, Social Workers : their Roles and Tasks (1982), London : Bedford Square Press
- 23 M. Foucault (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge
London : Tavistock
- 24 Op. cit., p21
- 25 J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson
- 26 M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane
- 27 Foucault's notion of power has been criticised by feminist writers and others for being too vague, and not taking sufficient account of the differential nature of power in society. See :-
D. Garland (1985) Punishment and Welfare
Hants : Gower

L. Mahood (1990) The Magdalenes
London : Routledge

These criticisms are not of central concern to me, since my interest in using Foucault lies more in his analysis of history and discourse than of power, though of course power will be of some importance, since Foucault argues (rightly in my view) that it is in discourse that power and knowledge come together.

28 When writing The Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault did not make the connection between power and knowledge, though he later said that this is what he had been discussing all along.

29 J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson

30 Op. cit. p6

31 See also D. Riley (1988) Am I that Name?
London : MacMillan

Riley suggests that the arrangement of people under the banners of "men" or "women" are enmeshed with the histories of other concepts, including those of "the social" and "the body".

32 Feminists have been rightly critical of his lack of appreciation of the mechanisms of women's oppression and domination - in other words, Donzelot does not spell out fully enough the idea of control through the empowerment and responsibility given to mothers.

33 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*, p112

34 Op. cit., p125

35 Some evolutionary views, in contrast, suggest that we are on an ever-downward spiral, and look to the glory of times gone by.

36 P. Abrams (1982) Historical Sociology
Open Books Publishing Ltd., p16

37 D. Bertaux, ed (1981) Biography and Society
Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, p41

38 M. Mies (1983) Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research, in G. Bowles, and R. Duelli-Klein, eds
Theories of Women's Studies
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

See also H. Roberts (1981) Doing Feminist Research
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

39 R. Duelli-Klein (1983) in G. Bowles and R. Duelli-Klein, *Ib. id.*, p90

40 J. Sawicki (1991) Disciplining Foucault
London : Routledge

41 Op. cit., p66

42 For example, the work of C. Smart, L. Mahood, F. Mort, J. Weeks, D. Riley, and S. Wise described more fully at various points throughout this thesis.

43 M. Foucault (1972) *Ib. id.*, p155

Chapter Three Research Methods and Process
(pp 55 - 86)

44 L. Gottschalk, C. Kluckhohn, and R. Angell (1945) The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology
New York : Social Science Research Council

45 Op. cit. p16

46 Op. cit. p38

47 J. Platt (1981) Evidence and Proof in Documentary Research (1) and (2) in Sociological Review, Vol. 29 No 1

48 M. Foucault (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge
London : Tavistock, pp138-139

49 Miles and Huberman (1984) use the term "triangulation" to describe testing a new item for internal consistency by comparing it with other already validated measures of the same skill or construct.

See M. Miles, and A.M. Huberman (1984) Qualitative Data Analysis
Beverly Hills : Sage

50 G. Mordaunt (1992) The Funding Game : A Case-Study of Voluntary Statutory Relationships
Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh

51 See M. Brenton (1985) The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services
London : Longman

G. Finlayson (1990) A Moving Frontier
Twentieth Century British History, Vol 1 No. 2, pp186-206

F. Prochaska (1980) Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England
Oxford : Clarendon Press

F. Prochaska (1988) The Voluntary Impulse
London : Faber and Faber

52 See J. Cooper (1983) The Creation of the British Social Services, 1962-1974
London : Heinemann

J. English (1988) Social Services in Scotland
Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press

P. Thane (1982) The Foundations of the Welfare State
London : Longman

R. Walton (1975) Women in Social Work
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

53 See D. Garland (1985) Punishment and Welfare
Hants : Gower Publishing Co.

L. Mahood (1990) The Magdalenes
London : Routledge

F. Mort (1987) Dangerous Sexualities
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

A. Oakley (1984) The Captured Womb
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

N. Rose (1985), The Psychological Complex
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

J. Weeks (1981) Sex, Politics and Society
London : Longman

54 R. Crompton and K. Sangerson (1990) Gendered Jobs and Social Change
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J. Finch (1989) Family Obligations and Social Change
Cambridge : Polity Press

J. Lewis, ed. (1986) Labour and Love
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

J. Lewis and B. Meredith (1988) Daughters who Care
London : Routledge

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Oxford : Basil Blackwell

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London : Tavistock

55 Traditionally, pilot interviews have been used as a way of focusing the researcher's mind on major themes out of which key testable hypothesis will be formulated. Because my approach to the research project was different to this, the pilot had a different function. The oral history method sees the first interview as just that - not a pilot, but a real interview, an opportunity for a general information gathering session with a well-informed person.
See P. Thompson (1988) *Ib. id.*

56 Dexter points out that what interviewees enjoy most is "the opportunity to teach, to tell people something."
See L.A. Dexter (1970) Elite and Specialised Interviewing
Evanston : Northwestern University Press, p37

57 P. Thompson, *Life Histories and the Analysis of Social Change* in D. Bertaux ed, (1981) *Ib. id.*, p.293

See also P. Armstrong (1987) Qualitative Strategies in Social and Educational Research

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and P. Thompson (1988, 2nd edition) The Voice of the Past
Oxford : Oxford University Press

58 Bertaux (1981) *Ib. id.* p38

59 For an overview of writing on feminist research,
see :-

M. Maynard The Re-shaping of Sociology? Trends in the
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S. Harding, ed.(1987) Feminist Methodology

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London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p58

61 C.R. Rogers (1951) Client-Centred Therapy
Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co.

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Evanston : Northwestern University Press

63 J. Platt (1981) On Interviewing One's Peers.
British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 32 No. 1 pp75-91

64 This point is made clearly by Clark (1989) :-
C.L. Clark (1989) Theory and Practice in Social
Intervention. The Case of Voluntary Action on
Unemployment.

PhD dissertation, Edinburgh University

65 The title "Chairmen" was used without comment by the
women who held this post. I have therefore chosen to use
this title also, instead of changing it to a more
contemporary usage such as "chair" or "chairperson".

66 See M. Fisher (1983) Speaking of Clients
Sheffield University for Community Care.

67 F. Kerlinger (1973) Foundations of Behavioural
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New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p134

68 D. Bertaux, ed. (1981) *Ib. id.*

69 *Op. cit.*, p40

⁷⁰ L. Stanley. and S. Wise (1983) Breaking Out. Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

⁷¹ For example, B. Glaser and A. Strauss (1967)
The Discovery of Grounded Theory
Chicago, Ill. : Aldine

⁷² P. Thompson (1981) Life Histories and the Analysis of
Social Change in D. Bertaux, ed. (1981) *Ib. id.*, p294

Chapter Four Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement (pp 87 - 136)

73 First Object of NVA (Eastern Division)
Annual Report, 1917 (the earliest annual report still
surviving in the agency.)

74 This was a contemporary term widely used to refer to
prostitution. See W. Logan (1871) The Great Social Evil,
on prostitution, mainly in Glasgow.

75 See M. Foucault (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge
London : Tavistock

76 For example:-

1881 Select Committee into juvenile prostitution;
1881 Select Committee into the White Slave Trade;
1881 Industrial Schools Amendment Act;
1883 Publication of Andrew Mearns' "Bitter Cry of Outcast
London";
1883 Criminal Law Amendment Bill was introduced;
1884 Royal Commission into housing;
1884 Society for the Protection of Children was
established.

77 See E.J. Bristow (1977) Vice and Vigilance
Dublin : Gill and MacMillan,

and J. Walkowitz (1982) Male Vice and Feminist Virtue.
Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth
Century Britain, History Workshop 13 pp79-93

78 Resolution published in The Sentinel, 1885, p475

79 It had been raised from 12 to 13 years in 1875.

80 Although reformers accepted clause XI, they did not
themselves propose it. There is some debate about why
such a clause appeared at this time. Weeks suggests that
it may reflect anti-aristocratic bias - the notion that
upper-class men ("rakes") were corrupting working-class
boys and girls. Smith has a different view. He claims
that Labouchere may have introduced this amendment in an
extravagant attempt to overturn the Bill itself, which he
saw as unconstitutional.

See J. Weeks (1981) Sex, Politics and Society
London : Longman, pp81-93

and F.B. Smith (1976) Labouchere's Amendment to the
Criminal Law Amendment Bill,
in Historical Studies, 17/67, pp165-173

81 J. Walkowitz (1982) *Ib. id.* pp79-93

⁸² James Stuart writing to Samuel Smith, 8 July, 1884, quoted in E.J. Bristow (1977), *Ib. id.* p93

⁸³ The 1889 Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children made explicit for the first time limitations on parental power over their offspring. Soon after, the London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children became a national organisation, and prepared to administer the law which it had brought before Parliament. See G.K. Behlmer (1982) Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908
Stanford : Stanford University Press

⁸⁴ J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p55

⁸⁶ J. Miller (1859) Prostitution considered in relation to its Cause and Cure
Edinburgh, p5

⁸⁷ F. Mort (1987) Dangerous Sexualities
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

⁸⁸ The CD Acts were instituted by the government as a way of controlling the spread of venereal disease among soldiers and sailors. The 1864 Act targetted eleven military stations, garrisons and seaport towns in Southern England and in Ireland (Bland and Mort, 1984) The legislation was administered not by local policemen, but by plain-clothes officers drawn from the Metropolitan police-force. The Acts allowed these officers to pick up, register and take for an internal medical examination any woman thought to be working as a prostitute. Women found to have VD could be detained in a certified lock hospital for up to nine months. Those who refused to be examined could be held for between one and three months, depending on whether this was a "first offence". Women whose tests were negative were still registered and obliged to present themselves periodically for further check-ups.

The 1864 Act was introduced quietly and without debate in Parliament, and public knowledge about the existence of the Acts spread very slowly. Similar legislation had recently been passed in relation to cattle with foot and mouth disease, and it has been suggested that a camouflage took place in the language of the Acts. The iniquity of the procedure (no men were under scrutiny in this manner) was made harder to bear because of a lack of confidence in the medical examination and treatment. Medical ignorance was such that mistakes in diagnosis were easily made, and cures far from certain. (Bristow, 1977)

In 1866, the 1864 Act was repealed and re-enacted, with a certain tightening-up of provisions. Instead of applying only to prostitutes thought to be diseased (ie those named by soldiers and sailors who were themselves receiving treatment for VD), it provided for the periodical examination of all prostitutes within the prescribed districts, and for the detention of those found to be diseased on the certificate of the examining surgeon, without the order of a magistrate. The 1869 Act enlarged the provisions further and extended the operation of the 1866 Act, including eighteen towns within its scope, and a ten mile radius around these towns.

When a group of doctors argued for the Acts to be further extended to all the large cities in the north of England, there was effective public reaction for the first time. In 1869, an all-male National Association against the CD Acts was formed, led by a group of Wesleyans and Quakers determined to halt the extension of the Acts to the North. Soon after, a Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the CD Acts (LNA) began, under the leadership of Josephine Butler. The LNA was such a successful organisation that by 1882 it boasted 92 local committees, making it one of the largest charities run by women at this time. (Prochaska, 1980)

See L. Bland and F. Mort (1984) Look out for the "Good Time" Girl - Dangerous Sexualities as a Threat to National Health, in Formations of Nation and People

See E.J. Bristow (1977) ⁷ Ib. id. pp78-81

and F. Prochaska (1980) Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England
Oxford : Clarendon Press, p206

⁸⁹ M. Foucault (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge
London : Tavistock

⁹⁰ F. Mort (1987) Ib. id., p37

⁹¹ Boyd states that the Free Church of Scotland and United Presbytery Synod had earlier leapt on the abolitionist bandwagon, while the Church of Scotland remained silent on the issue of the CD Acts.
See K.M. Boyd (1980) Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family, 1850-1914
Edinburgh : John Donald

⁹² Edinburgh hosted 3 voluntary organisations in the mid 19th Century whose targets were prostitution; a Lock Hospital and at least 5 rescue homes / industrial schools.

In 1842, the Edinburgh Society for the Protection of Young Females was founded; in 1860, the Association for

the Promotion of Social Morality; also in 1860, the Scottish National Association for the Suppression of Licentiousness and the Recovery of the Fallen. The first Magdelene Asylum in Edinburgh opened its doors in 1797. But it was in the middle of the 19th Century that expansion took place. In 1856 and 1859 Female Industrial homes were opened in Corstorphine and Alnwickhill; in 1860, a Rescue Home opened in High Calton Street; in 1877, Springwell Rescue Home for Young Women began; and in 1885 a Female Penitentiary began in Joppa, just outside Edinburgh.

⁹³ Not all medics accepted the line of argument being pressed by Acton in England and Sanger in New York. James Miller, a prominent Edinburgh surgeon and temperance orator, fought against the introduction of the CD Acts. He argued that chastity was the only true prevention of prostitution.

See J. Miller (1859) Prostitution in relation to its Cause and Cure
Edinburgh, p29

and J.D. Comrie (1932) History of Scottish Medicine
Vol.2, London : Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, p587

⁹⁴ W. Acton (1870) Prostitution considered in its Social and Sanitary Aspects
re-printed in S. Jeffreys (1987) The Sexuality Debates
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp42-57

⁹⁵ The Social Purity movement held that individual self-control by men and mutual support for each other would render prostitution unnecessary. Purity organisations for men and boys sprang up all over the country, none more successful than Ellice Hopkins' White Cross Army which merged in 1891 with the Church of England Purity Society to form the White Cross League. Ellice Hopkins' targets were "respectable" working men, whom she encouraged to take a purity pledge for their own good and for the health of the nation.

The Social Purity movement did not work only with men and boys. Friendly societies were set up, targetted at young women deemed to be at risk - often young women who had left home in search of employment. The Girls' Friendly Society was formed in 1874; and the Scottish Girls' Friendly Society in 1875. Their object was to "encourage loyalty and faithfulness in work and home life and self-control in all things." Ellice Hopkins founded the Ladies Association for the Care and Protection of Friendless Girls in 1876, and branches opened in cities all over Britain, including Edinburgh and Glasgow. These organisations aimed to be preventive. By providing accommodation and support to girls and young women, their moral and physical welfare would be safeguarded. For

those who had already "fallen", redemption was available through reformatory institutions and rescue homes.

The breadth of social purity's sphere of interest is illustrated by examining the range of activities carried out by individual organisations. The Social Purity Alliance (SPA) of 1873 advocated purity for men, and a single standard of morality for men and women. The SPA also sponsored "improving lectures" and advocated temperance, decent dress and legal reform. Another purity organisation, the Moral Reform Union of 1882, was concerned with emigration, public parks, the ballet, and equal justice for men and women. Ellice Hopkins' own work encompassed everything from lecturing working-class mothers on ways of avoiding incest to campaigning successfully for legislation to remove prostitutes' children from their homes and take them into residential training schools.

Ellice Hopkins' book, "Damaged Peals", sold 50,000 copies in a year; the Industrial Schools (Amendment) Act of 1881 was very influential in breaking up prostitution by removing any children found to be living in the same house as a prostitute. This acted as a deterrent not only to would-be prostitutes, but also to landlords/landladies who were afraid that their own children might be removed from home. Measures such as this were effective in driving a wedge between prostitutes and working-class communities, and forcing prostitutes out onto the streets.

⁹⁶ L. Re-Bartlett (1912) Sex and Sanctity
London : Longmans, p59

⁹⁷ J. Butler (1875) A Letter to the Members of the Ladies National Association, p5,
quoted in F. Mort (1987) Dangerous Sexualities : Medico-moral Politics in England since 1830
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p94

⁹⁸ Protest of the LNA against the CD Acts, 1870

⁹⁹ See LNA paper, (1907) The Ladies National Association, What is it and Why it is still Needed
re-printed in S. Jeffreys (1987) *Ib. id.*

¹⁰⁰ J. Walkowitz (1980) Prostitution and Victorian Society - Women, Class and the State
Cambridge : Cambridge University Press

¹⁰¹ F. Mort (1987) *Ib. id* p137

See also S. Jeffreys (1985) The Spinster and her Enemies
London : Pandora Press

102 Bristow (1977) claims that the Acts were suspended as much as anything because they were not working. The statistical battle fought by abolitionists "probably cast enough doubt on the working of the system to enable the moral and political arguments to decide the issue." He records that the LNA kept track of the number of examinations in which no VD was discovered; by 1886 the figure came to nearly half a million cases. See E.J. Bristow (1977), *Ib. id.*, pp81-83

103 J.R. and D. Walkowitz (1974) *We are not Beasts of the Field. Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts*,

in M. Hartman and L.W. Banner, eds (1974) Clio's Consciousness Raised

New York : Harper and Row, p218

104 M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane

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London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

106 J. Weeks (1985), *Op. cit.* p45

107 In May 1881 a Select Committee of the House of Lords was set up "to inquire into the law for the protection of young girls from artifices to induce them to lead a corrupt life, and into the means of amending the same." The Lords concluded that most British prostitutes working abroad were already professional prostitutes before they left home. The Lords also carried out an investigation into juvenile prostitution, and accepted the view of police officials that this was a real problem. The 1881 Industrial Schools (Amendment) Act reflects this concern. At the same time, the Lords recommended the raising of the age of consent to 16 years; that police be given powers to search private premises for juveniles; and that the age of abduction for immoral purposes be raised to 21 years. (Clauses which were to become part of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1885.) See E.J. Bristow, *Ib. id.*, pp51-71

108 Pall Mall Gazette, 22 August 1885, p15

109 Pall Mall Gazette, 6 July 1885, p1

110 See M. Pearson (1972) *Ib. id.*, pp168-190,

and E.J. Bristow (1977) *Ib. id.*, pp106-114

111 S. Watney (1987) Policing Desire
London : Methuen, pp41-42

112 At Stead's trial for abduction, it emerged that Eliza's mother had not willingly sold her into prostitution. On the contrary, she had been led to believe that her daughter was going into domestic service. Eliza was taken by Josephine Butler's friend Rebecca Jarrett to Stead, where she was examined to check her virginity, and then transported to a Salvation army friend in France where she had to wait until she was brought home again. Stead was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for the abduction of Eliza Armstrong, though he only served three months in total. (Stead was charged because he had not sought permission from Eliza's father. When it later emerged that Eliza's parents were not married and that she was illegitimate, Stead was freed because the father's consent had never been necessary.)

113 Not all of these groups survived. Bristow suggests that after the initial euphoria evaporated, there was a reluctance on the part of some to get involved in the rather unpleasant day-to-day work. Many local committees collapsed or demonstrated incompetence. See E.J. Bristow (1977) *Ib. id.*, p119

114 E.J. Bristow (1977) *Ib. id.*, p4

Boyd states that the Free Church of Scotland and United Presbytery Synod had earlier leapt on the abolitionist bandwagon, while the Church of Scotland remained silent on the issue of the CD Acts. See K.M. Boyd (1980) *Ib. id.*

115 See F. Henriques (1968) Modern Sexuality. Prostitution and Society, Volume 3
London : Panther

116 See F. Mort (1987) *Ib. id.*, p134

117 H.R.E. Ware (1969) The Recruitment, Regulation and Role of Prostitution in Britain from the middle of the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day
Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of London, p432

118 F. Mort (1987) *Ib. id.*, p134

119 J. Weeks (1981) *Ib. id.*, and J. Walkowitz (1982) *Ib. id.*

120 E.J. Bristow (1977), *Ib. id.*, p188

121 Josephine Butler died soon after in 1906.

122 Mrs Billington-Grieg, quoted in E.J. Bristow (1977) *Ib. id.*, p193

123 D. Gorham *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon*

Re-examined : Child Prostitution and the Idea of
Childhood in Late-Victorian England.

Victorian Studies, Spring 1978 pp353-379

124 Op. cit. pp376-377

125 Op. cit. p378

126 For example, National Council of Public Morals,
National Council for Combatting Venereal Disease (later
renamed British Social Hygiene Council), Association for
Social and Moral Hygiene, People's League of Health.
See L. Bland and F. Mort (1984) *Ib. id.*

127 In May 1952, the organisation was forced by a
financial crisis to terminate the work of the Travellers'
Aid Society. Discussions began in 1952 about the
possible merger of the two branches of vigilance activity
- the NVA and the British National Committee, which had
been the British arm of the international work. This
merger was completed in 1953, and a new British Vigilance
Association (BVA) formed.

The International Bureau for the Suppression of the
Traffic in Persons has been founded at an International
Congress organised by the NVA in London on 21-23 June
1899. Out of this Congress, national committees were
formed in constituent countries, and International
Congresses continued to bring the representatives
together. The first British National Committee was the
Executive of the NVA. But by the 1920s, it had a much
broader membership, incorporating representatives from
all organisations in Britain working for the protection
of women and children.

128 Finance was always a problem for the NVA and the BNC,
which relied on public goodwill and private subscriptions
for their existence. Problems became more acute after
the second World War. Older subscribers died, and the
younger generation did not have the same interests as
their forebears. Rising costs and a diminishing income
brought a serious financial crisis towards the end of
1951 from which the organisation was never fully able to
recover.

See BVA Annual Reports and other records held at the
Fawcett Library, City of London Polytechnic.

129 Figures for 1959-1960 indicate that 6,572 travellers
were helped at the Victoria kiosk, both European and
American travellers. In 1962 a second kiosk was opened at
Liverpool St. station.

The Annual Report of 1961-62 describes the three stages
in this work - the enquiry and advisory service carried
out by the BVA, or the NVA in Glasgow or Liverpool
(enquiries into accommodation, employment, au pair

situations were usually made before the young woman arrived in Britain); the station meetings undertaken by the ITA and its volunteer helpers; and the "Recommendation Plan" or follow up, where all girls seen at the kiosk were visited by BVA or NVA representatives, and put in touch with local clubs and welfare organisations.

See Annual Report, 1961-62, held at the Fawcett Library, City of London Polytechnic.

130 The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill was first introduced in 1909 and not passed until December 1912. Mort notes the continued struggle over the desired form of intervention. In its final committee stages, the clauses giving the police greater powers to search and arrest brothel-keepers were revised, and rendered almost useless. The main provision in the Act as it became law was the flogging of men for living off the immoral earnings of women.

F. Mort (1987) *Ib. id.*, p144

131 Reported in Vigilance Record, May 1912, pp39-40

132 Reported in Vigilance Record, December 1928

133 For example in 1912 the Men's Committee of the NVA investigated "levels of immorality" up Carlton Hill in Edinburgh by climbing up nightly with flashlights. See Executive Committee Minutes, 1912

134 This was in line with the contemporary anxieties about the threat from "amateur prostitutes", considered to be the central threat to the nation's health. See L. Bland and F. Mort (1984) *Ib. id.*

135 The Probation of Offenders Act (1907) enabled courts throughout the United Kingdom to appoint probation officers who would carry out the new Probation Orders. Most of these Officers in Scotland were Church of Scotland Police Court Missionaries, but other organisations, like the NVA, also provided named Officers. The Criminal Justice Act (1925) provided for the establishment of a salaried Probation Service in England and Wales; Scotland did not enact similar legislation until the Probation of Offenders (1931) Scotland Act. Even after the passing of these Acts, there was a high level of local variation. (King, 1964) See J.F.S. King (1964) The Probation Service - 2nd edition, London : Butterworth
Also newspapers held in Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Public Library.

136 Dispatch, 4-2-32

137 Scotsman, 21-6-32

138 In 1918, members could not agree on whether or not to join the campaign for the withdrawal of the 40D Defence of the Realm (D.O.R.A.) Regulations which stipulated that women having sex with soldiers should be compulsorily examined for venereal disease.
(See Executive Committee minutes, 21-4-18)

They agreed however to send 2 delegates to support the Women's Freedom League deputation to Parliament, also in 1918, protesting against two Bills on the State Regulation of Vice.
(See Executive Committee Minutes, 7-11-18)

In 1927-28, members felt unable to argue for or against the Private Member's Bill on the Enforced Notification of VD. (See Executive Committee minutes)

The following year, they set up a sub-committee and subsequently supported the national NVA's stance on the Street Offences Report.
(See Executive Committee minutes, 19-2-29)

Finally the Committee was unable to reach agreement on calling for the repeal of Regulation 33B (again on the notification and examination of women for venereal disease) during the Second World War.
(See Executive Committee minutes, 15-10-43)

139 1929 Annual Report

140 Ladies Committee minutes, 26-2-13

141 Ladies Committee minutes, 6-6-13

142 Ladies Committee minutes, 6-5-14

143 Ladies Committee minutes, 6-6-13

144 From 1914 until the 1960s, the NVA in Edinburgh administered huge sums on behalf of unmarried mothers. (The NVA in Glasgow chose not to get involved in this work, and instead handed it over to the Poor Law agent.)

145 In 1938, a 14 year old boy who had stolen twice and had got to know "older and very undesirable friends" was sent to live on a farm where he was reported to be doing extremely well.
Annual Report 1938 p12

146 For example, a house suspected of being a brothel, or a house where the male householder was known to be violent or abusive.
See Ladies Committee Minutes, 8-4-13

147 The main Object in 1946 became "to advise and befriend women and children by means of individual case work."
See Annual Report, 1946

148 M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane

149 In the early 1930s, the NVA took part in a national Cinema Enquiry, checking the ages of children attending the cinema; in 1933, the Secretary represented the agency on a Dance-Halls Committee which worked on the question of licensing dance-halls; in 1940 they argued for greater supervision in Air Raid Shelters; in 1941 they investigated the living conditions of Land Army girls in Scotland.

150 Rosalind Chambers outlines the "squeeze" which was affecting moral welfare workers throughout Britain after WW2 and taking over the moral welfare field - almoners and medical social workers dealing with follow-up work connected with VD; the Youth Service playing a part in preventive work; Health Visitors assisting with maternity provisions. Moral welfare workers found their role more strictly defined than ever before.
See R. Chambers (1959) Professionalism in Social Work, in B. Wootten (1959) Social Science and Social Pathology
London : Allen and Unwin, pp 355-375

151 A change of Director in 1957 made this final step possible for the first time. Dr McWhinnie was very keen to get rid of the "old punitive messages" inherent in the old name.

152 An example of this is Victoria Gillick's unsuccessful challenge to the medical profession in terms of their right to prescribe contraceptives to her under-16 year old daughter without her consent. In Scotland legal advice maintained that doctors have a right to administer medicine as they choose. Abortion is likewise a medical matter, under legal jurisdiction and framework.

For more on this subject, see C. Smart, Law and the Control of Women's Sexuality : the case of the 1950s, in B. Hutter and G. Williams (1981) Controlling Women - the Normal and the Deviant
London : Croom Helm

153 This work tends to be financed by voluntary organisations as before - Church of Scotland, Salvation Army. But the Glasgow initiative is sponsored by the Social Work Department itself.

154 Mary Whitehouse is reported as saying :-
"The bishop's comments are bound to be interpreted as the Church condoning the use of brothels. This will

encourage the use of brothels rather than encourage chastity before marriage and faithfulness within it." The Herald, 23-4-92, p26

155 "Childline" grew out of a BBC television programme hosted by Esther Rantzen which highlighted the problem of child sexual abuse, and invited those concerned to telephone for help after the programme was transmitted. The response was so great that a new national organisation was founded.

156 For a full account of this subject, see :-
N. Parton (1991) Governing the Family
London : Macmillan

157 F. Mort (1987) *Ib. id.*, p214

158 C. Smart (1981) *Ib. id.*, p57

159 See P. Carlen (1983) Women's Imprisonment
London : Routledge

P. Calen, ed. (1985) Criminal Women
Cambridge : Polity Press and Basil Blackwell

C. Smart and B. Smart (1978) Women, Sexuality and Social Control
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

160 See A. Campbell (1981) Girl Delinquents
Oxford : Basil Blackwell,

M. Casburn (1979) Girls will be Girls - Sexism and Juvenile Justice in a London Borough
London : Women's Resource and Research Centre

L. Gelsthorpe (1987) The Differential Treatment of Males and Females in the Criminal Justice System, in Research Highlights in Social Work : Sex, Gender and Care Work, Jessica Kingsley Pub. Ltd.

161 Strong parallels exist in the state's reluctance to legislate against cruelty to children in the home, while being prepared to take action to protect children outside the home - hence legislation on apprentices, factory work etc. When the 1889 Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was finally passed, the agreement was that it should be implemented not by a state-run organisation, but by the newly-formed voluntary agency NSPCC. See G. Behlmer (1982) Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908
Stanford : Stanford University Press

162 J. Donzelot (1980) *ib id.*

C. Smart (1981) *Ib. id.*, p57 and (1989) *Ib. id.*

Chapter Five Secularisation and Social Work
(pp 137 - 182)

163 See "The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom : An Interview with Michel Foucault on January 20, 1984, in J. Bernauer and D. Rasmussen eds (1988) The Final Foucault, Cambridge MIT press, pp12-13

164 Organisations with strong religious roots have recently been struggling with the implications of working in a pluralist, multi-faith society. Dr. Barnardo's no longer expects basic-grade social workers to be Christians, but a Christian faith remains a necessity for senior staff; the Church of Scotland reached an impasse in its negotiations in 1991 to take over the running of homes for the elderly on behalf of Shetland Isles Council who denounced Church of Scotland appointments' policy as discriminatory; National Children's Homes last year advertised for the first time for a non-priest as Director.

165 P.L. Berger (1969) The Social Reality of Religion
London : Faber and Faber

166 D. Martin (1978) A General Theory of Secularisation
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

167 C. Brown (1987) The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730
London : Methuen, pp169-202

168 R. Currie, D. Gilbert and L. Horsley (1977)
Churches and Churchgoers
Oxford : Clarendon Press

A Gallup poll conducted in 1981 illustrates Currie et al's views on the personalised nature of religion. While only 16% of the adult population were regular church-goers, 36% believed in a personal God, 37% in some kind of spirit or life-force, and 15% professed agnosticism. Only 12% rejected the idea of any spirit, God, or life-force.

(Figures quoted from N. Webb and R. Wybrew (1982) The Gallop Report, Sphere, pp151-154)

169 D.B. Forrester (1985) Christianity and the Future of Welfare
London : Epworth Press, p64

170 B.R. Wilson (1966) Religion in a Secular Society
Watts, pp221-233

171 J. Hapgood (1983) Church and Nation in a Secular Age
London : Barton, Longman and Todd

172 Donald Smith argues that the Scottish church in the 19th Century made virtually no attempt to form or transform public opinion on any social issue, and that even since the turn of the 20th Century, the church has rarely been a pioneer - "tendencies towards social conservatism, conformity and passivity remain."
See D.C. Smith (1987) Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest

New York : Peter Lang, pp381-382

173 See K.M. Boyd (1980) Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family, 1850-1914
Edinburgh : John Donald

174 W.A. Coote. ed. (1916) A Romance of Philanthropy
London : NVA, p25

Josephine Butler (1881) was similarly critical of the church, claiming that it upheld the unequal standard of sexual morality by blaming women and excusing men.
See J. Butler (1881) Social Purity
London : Dyer Brothers

175 Thomas Chalmers set up a system in Glasgow in the 1820s which drew its inspiration from the idea of the self-sufficient rural parish, where Christian charity and local leadership replaced any state organised system of poor relief and welfare. Chalmers believed that the new urban parishes should continue to meet all the educational, welfare, spiritual and pastoral needs of the new urban masses in place of government provision of schools or poor relief - "legal charity" was held to be "injurious".

Drummond and Bulloch suggest that Chalmers's system and other kirk-based poor relief proved to be incapable of dealing with the extent of the poverty in Victorian Scotland. The Poor Law (Amendment) Act of 1845 removed parish relief from spheres of Church and private benevolence.

See A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch (1973) The Scottish Church 1688-1843
Edinburgh : Saint Andrew Press

176 C. Brown (1987) The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730
London : Methuen

177 E. Norman (1987) The Victorian Christian Socialists
Cambridge : Cambridge University Press

178 The Oxford Movement was a movement which grew out of Oxford University and which spread to some anglican churches in England and Scotland. The movement combined a reverence for the place of the sacraments within worship - the use of incense, music and "high" forms of

worship - combined with strong commitment to community service and the urban poor.

179 Of these 15 clergymen, 4 were Church of Scotland ministers; 5 United Free Church of Scotland ministers; 2 Scottish Episcopal Church ministers; 1 Free Church of Scotland minister; and I have been unable to trace the religious affiliation of the remaining 3 - possibly Methodist, Congregationalist or Pentecostal. It is certain that there was no representation from the Catholic Church. (Minutes of an Executive Committee meeting on 5th December 1911 record the committee's wish to get Catholic and Jewish representatives on the committee. There is no indication in subsequent minutes of their success in achieving this wider representation. The NVA in Edinburgh remained a largely Protestant organisation.)

180 Rev. Robert J. Drummond was very influential in pressing the Church of Scotland to get involved in social problems and set up a Social Problems Committee - the pre-runner of the Church of Scotland Church and Nations Committee established in 1929 when the United Free and established Churches of Scotland came together. He also worked as a committee member for the Council of social Service.

Canon Albert E. Laurie, minister of Old St. Paul's Church off the High Street in Edinburgh, was a member of the NVA committee from the first meeting, and General Committee chairman for 12 years until his death in 1936. As well as working for the NVA, he set up a dispensary in the High Street used principally by women and children, the first Child Garden in Edinburgh, a club for men and boys, and a local temperance society. He also acted as pastor to the Episcopal Church rescue home in Joppa. See L. Wilson (1940) Laurie of Old St. Paul's Edinburgh : R. Grant and Sons Ltd.

181 The General Committee membership echoes this change-over. In the early years, the committee was roughly 50% men and women. During the Second World War, however, numbers of men declined, and continued to do so after 1945. There was a brief period mid 1950s when more men were attracted back onto the committee, and then from 1959 onwards, it was a 100% female committee.

182 Rev. R.A.J. Gossip (Holy Trinity Church) was Executive Committee chairman for 15 years from 1945 until 1960, and the only man on the Executive for the last 12 of these years. Throughout this time, although he held the chairmanship of the committee, the "power behind the throne" was clearly Charlotte Learmonth, the Vice-Chairman. She had been trained as a medical social worker in the United States and brought to the committee meetings all her experience, skills in motivating others,

and great personal charm. It was Charlotte Learmonth who introduced all her friends to the Guild of Service, and built up the committees to function as hard-working, useful committees. (This view was expressed to me in all my interviews with staff and committee members.)

183 Newspapers from the early 1910s are full of stories about the international white slave trade and about the behaviour of young people at home. A few years later, the concern had shifted to the "flapper" - and the need for churches and others to provide "healthy recreation" for young people.

See reports and letters in the Scotsman and Evening Dispatches over this period.

184 C. Brown (1987) *Ib. id.*

185 This is further complicated by the numbers of clergymen and priests who have left the ministry to become full-time community and social workers.

186 From a lost Annual Report of 1918, quoted in an unpublished report on the work of the Guild of Service written by Susan Hunter, MA student, in 1973.

187 J. Weeks (1981) Sex, Politics and Society
London : Longman

188 The 1567 Incest Law in Scotland was built on prohibitions which were taken straight from Leviticus; England and Wales did not make incest a criminal offence until 1908, reflecting a new eugenic concern about blood relations.

189 See J. Butler (1881 - 2nd edition) Social Purity
London : Dyer Brothers

190 Here Butler re-tells the biblical story of Christ at the temple. Christ says to his followers who condemn a prostitute, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."
See J. Butler (1881) *Ib. id.*

191 This illustrates Foucault's notion that the mind was changed through concentration on the body.
See M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane

192 L. Mahood (1990) The Magdalenes. Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century
London : Routledge, p83

See also N.C. Rafter (1983) Chastising the Unchaste in S. Cohen and A. Scull, eds. Social Control and the State
Oxford : Martin Robertson, pp288-311

- 193 J.H. Maitland, Secretary/Treasurer, in 1868 Report of Female Industrial Home at Corstorphine
- 194 See Case records, 1910s and 1920s
- 195 C. Gordon, ed. (1980) M. Foucault, Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews 1972-1977
Harvester Press Ltd, p131
- 196 See Case records, 1910s and 1920s
- 197 See V. Crabbie and O. Keay (1985) The Story of Claremont Park. The Edinburgh Home for Mothers and Infants
Edinburgh
- 198 Claremont Park Annual Report, 1940
- 199 Claremont Park Annual Report, 1941
- 200 The Scottish Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child began an Occupancy Service in 1967, with the expressed intention of closing Mother and Baby units down. It was felt that only hard facts would convince the management committees of these Homes that there was no future for Mother and Baby Homes as presently managed. (Interview with ex-Director of SCUM, J.A. McQueen, 18-2-91)
- 201 J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson
- 202 Interview, 27-5-91
- 203 N. Bruce, A. Mitchell, and K. Priestley (1988) Truth and the Child
Edinburgh : Family Care
- 204 Some committee members felt that interfering with conception in any way was morally wrong; others did not believe that Family Care should be seen to take sides on such a controversial matter. Kate Priestley won her case largely through the force of her argument.
See Policy Committee minutes, 1987
- 205 C. Smart (1989) Feminism and the Power of Law
London : Routledge, p105
- 206 A. Henderson (1986) Christianity and the Psychodynamic Approach, in T. Philpot, ed. (1986) Social Work. A Christian Perspective
Herts : Lion Publishing
- 207 D.B. Forrester and D. Skene (1988) Just Sharing
London : Epworth Press

208 British Association of Social Workers, Code of Ethics for Social Work, June 1986

209 H.H. Ayscough, "When Mercy Seasons Justice", Church of England Temperance Society, quoted in J.F.S. King (1964 - 2nd edition) The Probation Service
London : Butterworth, p7

210 Because women were believed to have a higher standard of sexual morality than men, there needed to be some way of sympathetically explaining the conduct of sexually active young women - the notion of victim made this possible. (I am not of course suggesting that none of these women were victims. Some women who ended up in institutions were indeed victims of child sexual abuse or rape. See Chapter Four for fuller description of agency clients.)

211 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*

212 M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane

213 G. Newton, Trends in Probation Training, British Journal of Delinquency, October 1956

214 Guild of Service case-records give no indication of the way clients experienced this social work intervention. However, some clues are available from other sources. At the Scottish Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child conference in 1971, Margaret Bramwell from the National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child reported that she still received lots of letters from mothers complaining about being "grilled by social workers" about their sexual behaviour - wanting to find out their attitudes to sex, and how much sexual intercourse they had had before they became pregnant.
See SCUM Conference Papers, 1971

215 Miss Stewart, Organising Secretary from 1929 to 1954, told me that her first priority in finding adoptive homes for children was that the parents were active Christians, so that the child would be brought up in a Christian household. This was not Christianity of a sectarian nature - "it was not about placing a Baptist child with a Baptist family". Rather, a Christian upbringing was "the greatest gift" she could give a child. Likewise Children's home matrons were all expected to be devout Christians, so that children would learn "Christian values of service to others".
Interview, 17-7-90

Miss Stewart expresses this more fully in writing:-

"... our earnest hope and prayer is that each child may be fitted, mentally, physically and morally for the state to which the Lord is calling him or her. We do not know what the "state" is, but at least we know that it will involve the utmost love and care in the preparation of the children."

See Annual Report, 1951

216 This was not an easy decision for the agency to take, and splits on the issue appeared between professional social work staff and lay committee members. One respondent described the differences of opinion as being very much related to personal value-bases - for some, the matter was of no more importance than membership of, for example, a tennis club. For others, it was of vital importance. Here is an illustration of the secular discourse winning. An alternative, Christian solution might have been to re-vamp the way in which religious references were sought.

Interview 18-5-90

217 Interview, 13-4-91

218 The official enquiry into the Orkney affair has not yet been published.

219 D.B. Forrester and D. Skene (1988) *Ib. id.*, pp62-63

220 N. Timms (1970) Social Work. An Outline for the Intending Student

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

221 The Fabian Socialist movement was itself a diverse grouping. Some activists working within this milieu were humanitarians who were not practising Christians; others were devout Christians who saw social reform as a living expression of their faith. When Beveridge's Report on Social Security and Allied Services was published in 1942, the Archbishop of Canterbury stated that this was the first time that an attempt had been made to embody the whole spirit of the Christian ethic in an Act of Parliament.

See D.B. Forrester (1985) Christianity and the Future of Welfare

London : Epworth Press

222 B. Jordan (1984) Invitation to Social Work

London : Martin Robertson

223 Interview, 15-3-90

224 Interview, 17-7-90

225 Interview, 23-5-90

226 Although A. McWhinnie was not a practising Christian, she described herself as being "enormously influenced" by Christian values. (Interview, 04-05-90)

Another respondent told me that the Christian thread remained strong within the agency throughout Dr. McWhinnie's directorship, held by the staff, committee members and committee chairman, Rev. Gossip. This thread was re-inforced again with the appointment of Janet Lusk as Director in 1962. (Interview, 30-05-90)

227 Mrs Frackelton's annual play provides a case-example. Mrs Frackelton organised a play each year from 1947 onwards to raise money for Edzell Lodge Children's Home. Social workers and committee members sold tickets, made goods to sell, and staffed the theatre. For a time the play actually raised over half the annual income of the agency. By the late 1950s, however, social workers were refusing to be involved; the agency's funding-base was much larger; and a rather disappointed Mrs Frackelton discontinued her plays.
Interview, 15-3-90

228 M.A. Yelloly (1975) Professional Ideologies in British Social Work, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester

229 J.B. Miller (1983) Toward a New Psychology of Women London : Penguin, pp66-67

230 A. Borrowdale (1989) A Woman's Work. Changing Christian Attitudes London : SPCK

231 C. Gilligan, Woman's Place in Man's Life Cycle, reprinted in S. Harding (1987) ed. Feminism and Methodology Indiana and Milton Keynes : Indiana University Press and Open University, pp 57-73

232 See M. Horne (1987) Values in Social Work Hants : Wildwood House, for Community Care

233 S. Ashford and N. Timms, Values in Social Work : investigations of the practice of family placement British Journal of Social Work, 20, 1990, pp1-20

234 Aims of the Social Workers' Christian Fellowship are as follows :-
"To increase the personal faith in Jesus Christ of those working in the field of social welfare and to promote the acceptance of Biblical ethical teaching;
To clarify the thinking of its members on professional matters in the light of Biblical principles, and to encourage them to make these views heard at every professional level;

To encourage Christians coming into social work to integrate their personal beliefs with their professional practice."

235 See B. Holman, Working in the Community in T. Philpot, ed (1986) Social Work. A Christian Perspective

Herts : Lion Publishing, pp65-74

236 An ex-children's department officer from the 1940s and 1950s described routinely getting down on her knees to pray with adoptive couples - to pray for thanks for the gift of a child, and for the suffering of the mother relinquishing her child for adoption. Guild of Service staff knew about this practice, and viewed it with general amusement - it was clearly not "professional" conduct.

Interviews, 12-11-89 and 18-5-90

237 Miss Stewart concludes her final annual report with the following words :-

"... with God's help, the work will continue during the years to come, as it has continued so miraculously during the years that are past."

Annual Report, 1954

238 The term "moral danger" is still used today, principally to refer to sexually vulnerable or sexually active girls. It often appears in social workers' reasons for recommending that a girl be taken into care.

See L. Gelsthorpe (1987) The Differential Treatment of Males and Females in the Criminal Justice System
Research Highlights in Social work : Sex, Gender and Care Work, Jessica Kingsley Pub. Ltd.

For more on this subject, see Chapter Four : Vigilance and the Social Purity Movement.

239 Christian connections re-appear at moments of celebration - eg the Services of Thanksgiving to mark the 60th and 80th Birthdays of the agency.

240 M. Foucault (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge
London : Tavistock

Chapter Six The Professionalisation of Social Work
(pp 183 - 236)

241 M. A. Yelloly (1980) Social Work Theory and Psychoanalysis
New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold Company

R.G. Walton (1975) Women in Social Work
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

242 Denis O'Neill died as a result of brutal treatment by a foster parent after he had been removed from his parents' care on the grounds of neglect. This event has been regarded as highly significant because it focused public attention on the personal social services for the first time.

See B. Jordan (1984) Invitation to Social Work
Oxford : Basil Blackwell, pp67-70

243 The Children Act, 1948 made social workers responsible for preventing children from coming into care, instead of just working with those already in care.

244 A. Flexner (1915) Is social work a profession?
Proceedings of the 42nd National Conference of Charities and Correction
Chicago : Hilman Publishing

245 A.M. Carr-Saunders, Metropolitan Conditions and Traditional Professional Relationships,
in R.M. Fisher, ed, (1965) The Metropolis in Modern Life
Doubleday and Co., pp279-287

246 N. Toren (1972) Social Work : the case of a semi-profession
New York : Sage

247 E. Greenwood, Attributes of a Profession,
in Social Work - 2 - 1957

248 E. Younghusband (1981) The Newest Profession. A Short History of Social Work
London : IPC, Community Care

249 H.S. Becker, The Nature of a Profession,
in H.B. Henry, ed, (1962) Education for the Professions
Illinois : National Society for the Study of Education,
p31

250 I. Illich (1977) Disabling Professions
London : Marion Boyers, p17

251 H.L. Wilenski, The Professionalization of Everyone?
American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXX, No.2,
(September 1964), pp 142-146

- 252 P. Elliott (1972) The Sociology of the Professions
London : Macmillan Press
- 253 T.J. Johnson (1972) Professions and Power
London : Macmillan Press
- 254 N. Parry and J. Parry, Social Work, Professionalism,
and the State
in N. Parry et al, eds, (1979) Social Work, Welfare and
the State
London : Edward Arnold
- 255 See A. Morales and B.W. Sheafor, (1989 - fifth
edition) Social Work. A Profession of Many Faces
M.A. : Boston, Allyn and Bacan
- 256 A. Witz, Patriarchy and Professions : The Gendered
Politics of Occupational Closure
Sociology Vol.24 No.4 Nov. 1990 pp675-690
- 257 T.J. Johnson, The Professions in the Class Structure,
in R. Scase, ed, (1977) Industrial Society, Class,
Cleavage and Control
London : Allen and Unwin
- 258 Op. cit. p108
- 259 R.M. Kramer (1981) Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare
State
California : University of California Press
- 260 J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson
- 261 T. Johnston (1977) Ib. id.
- 262 M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane
- 263 M. Foucault (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge
London : Tavistock Publications, pp 50-56
- 264 Op. cit., p28
- 265 See Annual Report, 1914
- 266 See Ladies Committee minutes, 22-11-23
- 267 F.K. Prochaska (1980) Women and Philanthropy in
Nineteenth Century England
Oxford : Clarendon Press
- B. Jordan (1984) Ib. id.

268 P. Seed (1973) The Expansion of Social Work in Britain

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p45

269 M. Foucault (1978) The History of Sexuality, Volume 1, An Introduction, New York : Random House

270 For example, in 1915, Miss Stagg worked as Organising Secretary for six months without pay. She was subsequently paid for her work, and stayed with the organisation until 1929.

271 R.G. Walton (1975) Women in Social Work

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p147

272 This was a training home for indoor and outdoor rescue workers which predated the better-known Josephine Butler Memorial College in Liverpool by 22 years.

273 See F.K. Prochaska (1980) *Ib. id.*

and for an excellent, first-hand account which gives a real flavour of this training, see :-

H.M. Cobbold (1935) The District Visitor. A Guide for the Inexperienced

London : SPCK

274 See N. Parry and J. Parry. (1979) *Ib. id.* p27

275 For example, a Men's Committee was formed in 1912 to investigate claims of immorality at the top of Calton Hill in the hours of darkness. (This was obviously seen as unsafe or improper work for the outdoor worker to tackle.)

276 Executive Committee Minutes, 9-10-40

277 Executive Committee Minutes, 8-11-23

278 M. Foucault (1972) *Ib. id.*, pp 181-186

279 The shift in the agency's name is significant in that it highlights the agency's increasing discomfort with its vigilance connections. When the agency began in 1911, it was the NVA of Scotland (Eastern Division). In 1934, it adopted a subsidiary title, The International Guild of Service for Women. (This title was already in common usage in the London NVA, and referred specifically to the work in stations and ports.) In 1941, at the suggestion of the Ladies Committee who were unhappy with the name, the Edinburgh branch chose to swap its two titles, becoming the International Guild of Service for Women and the NVA.

See Executive Committee minutes, 8-5-41

In 1950, the word "International" was dropped from the title, reflecting a distancing from the NVA's international associations. By 1954, the Annual Report depicts the Guild of Service for Women in large letters on the cover page, with the words "formerly NVA" printed in small letters on the inside page. In 1959, the agency deleted the words "for Women" to become the Guild of Service, formerly the NVA. (I will say more about the importance of this change in Stage Two.) The sub-title "formerly NVA" was not finally abandoned until 1962, in spite of repeated concerns about the name NVA over almost thirty years.

For example, 1957 Annual Report states :-

".... the NVA, whose more militant attitude towards "sin and the fallen" we are glad to forget."

280 This training reflected an ecological, consensual view of society which assumed that by making adjustments in the social circumstances, (at the level of families, schools, neighbourhood etc) disadvantages would be eradicated and social problems could be prevented.

See E. MacAdam (1945) The Social Servant in the Making
London : Allen and Unwin

281 Annual Report, 1929, p8

282 Those who were worthy of help were those who could be expected not to ask for help again.

See C.L. Mowat (1961) The Charity Organisation Society, 1869-1913, Its Ideas and its Work
London : Methuen

283 During the 1930s and 1940s, the patrolling and street surveillance came to an end. The presence at Leith docks ended in 1933, and regular patrolling at the railway stations ended in 1935 - posters were displayed instead, inviting travellers in trouble to make contact with the agency. There was a brief period from 1942 to 1946 when a worker was again appointed to Waverley Station to cope with the particular exigencies of war-time. This was not, significantly, seen as a job for Miss Stewart. A "station worker" was appointed, answerable to a small sub-committee made up of representatives of the four agencies who came together to organise the station "kiosk". Miss Stewart checked in occasionally to see how the work was progressing, and took referrals from the worker. The person appointed was an unqualified, elderly woman who was paid a very small wage for what must have been extremely tiring work. She worked evenings and weekends, and was helped out by office staff and committee members at busy times.

(The agencies which came together to organise this service were :- the NVA, the local YWCA, the national YWCA, and the Travellers' Aid Society.)

284 Between 1931 and 1939, Miss Stewart arranged for 20,000 men in total to sleep in church halls and have a hot meal every autumn while they were stationed at South Queensferry and had no alternative accommodation. Miss Stewart recognised that this work was really outwith the agency's remit - it was only to a small degree about keeping men out of the hands of prostitutes, and seems to have been much more a straightforwardly humanitarian response to a very visible, very real need. Miss Stewart saw this as one of the best pieces of work she was involved in, and spoke with affection for the "boys" she had helped.

See Interview with Miss Stewart, 17-7-90.

285 Annual Report, 1933, p15

286 The Objects of the Association changed in 1930 - instead of "protecting women and girls against outrage, abduction and prostitution, and the terrible wickedness of the White Slave Trade", the first object becomes to "protect women and girls" - this is a much broader focus, allowing the agency to move into new areas of work. See Executive Committee Minutes, 28-1-30

287 E. Younghusband (1947) Report on the Employment and Training of Social Workers
Carnegie UK Trust

288 Op cit., (1947), p 104.

289 In 1946, the agency's commitment to the casework method was enshrined in a change in the Objects of the association, when casework replaced protection as the principal focus. The new first object became :- "to advise and befriend women and children by means of individual casework".
See Annual Report, 1946.

290 This point was illustrated to me at an interview with an ex-caseworker. She told me on 26-3-90 that "Miss Stewart used to say that if Mrs Fraser could get one little bootee into the family home, then they're in!"

291 From an interview with Mrs. Frackelton, 15-3-90

292 See Annual Report, 1941
This view also has been expressed to me by various respondents who worked during this period.

293 Miss Stewart's dynamism and charisma has been described to me in countless interviews with those who worked with her. She seems to have had personal qualities which encouraged others to believe in her and in her projects, then she worked extremely hard to put them in action, and to take others along with her.

294 Wives of professional husbands were not allowed to work for money, although they could give unlimited voluntary service. This view has been described to me by all the more elderly committee members.

295 Information obtained from an interview with Lady Learmonth's daughter, Mrs Jean McCallum, on 15-10-90

296 Lady Learmonth, Development of the Guild of Service (unpublished paper, 1970), p3

297 C.B. Learmonth, The Early Days of the Guild of Service and Edzell Lodge Homes (unpublished paper, June 1965)

298 Op. cit., June 1965

299 Interview, 30-5-90

300 Also in this interview, 30-5-90, a long-standing committee member said :- "The old ladies with hats did not stick around long after this!"

301 Miss Stewart told me at an interview on 17-7-90 that although she and Lady Learmonth had worked very well together in the beginning, this later went "sour" and they had irreconcilable differences of opinion over specific practice issues.

302 Executive Committee minutes, 15-5-56

303 A.M. McWhinnie (1967) Adopted Children : How They Grow Up
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

304 Reported to me at interviews with both Dr McWhinnie and an ex-Executive committee chairman.

305 These changes were only feasible because of new financial strength in the agency thanks to a "windfall" from the sale of Springwell House in 1954, and regular income from the Thrift Shop which opened in 1956 - the first of its kind in Scotland, an idea adapted by Lady Learmonth and others from American experience.

306 Here individuals who were experts in their field met alongside lay committee members to advise and assist in the process of ratifying caseworkers' professional recommendations on the professional work. (Decisions on the couples who would be passed for adoption ; likewise the potential fosterparents ; when babies would be allowed to go for adoption and the homes to which they would go.)

307 From an interview with Lady Learmonth's daughter, Jean McCallum, on 15-10-90

- 308 In 1959, the first Object of the Association became :-
"To provide a casework service for mothers and/or fathers (particularly the widowed, separated or divorced parent and the single parent) who have problems in relation to the care of their child or children especially where such a service is not available under a statutory provision or under another voluntary organisation".
See Annual Report, 1959
- 309 Old People's Welfare and YWCA
- 310 The change of name in 1959 from the "Guild of Service for Women" to the "Guild of Service" made way for this change. Although the name-change may seem to signify a broader client-group, in fact, it was done to indicate that this was no longer an agency which forefronted women's concerns. Instead, it worked with parents and children, but specific ones, not all-comers.
- 311 A.M. McWhinnie (1967) *Ib.id*
- 312 Both the Hillside short form of the Wechsler-Bellevue Examination and the Ravens Progressive Matrices were used. Advice in analysing results was supplied by a senior caseworker qualified as a Psychologist, in consultation with Professor Rex Knight at Aberdeen University
- 313 See A.M. McWhinnie (1966) Adoption Assessments
London : Standing Conference of Societies Registered for Adoption
- 314 E. Younghusband (1978) Social Work in Britain, 1950 - 1975
London : Allen and Unwin, pp 24-25
- 315 This worker had a degree in Psychology and a special interest in child development and child psychology.
- 316 Although committee members did hear a little about the children's progress, their role was much more to do with decisions about the purchase of new curtains, rather than building a professional plan for the children. Ex-committee members have expressed their sadness at being pushed out; residential workers have expressed their uneasiness at the presence of committee members in the Home.
- 317 Interview, 5-2-91
- 318 At the end of the 1960s and just before the Social work (Scotland) Act came into force, numbers of qualified staff working in social work agencies was very low. The

push for training of social workers continued throughout the 1970s.

See J. English (1988) *Ib. id.* p119

319 Significantly, Children's Panels which began in Scotland in 1971 were established on the principle of lay membership, though many of these "lay" people were professionals in their own right, for example, teachers. It seems likely that one of the repercussions of the Orkney enquiry will be the removal from the lay Panel of crucial decision-making powers with regard to compulsory reception into care, and placing this in the hands of the sheriff, that is the legal professional.

320 See B. Wootten (1959) Social Science and Social Pathology

London : Allen and Unwin, p271

321 C. Towle, in H.H. Perlman, ed. (1969) Helping
Chicago : University of Chicago Press

322 A. Sinfield (May 1970) Which Way for Social Work?
The Fifth Social Service, Fabian Society, London

323 See N. Parry et al, eds (1979) Social Work, Welfare and the State

London : Edward Arnold, pp42-44

324 Research conducted in the early 1980s found that 1171 volunteers were working within 60 local authority social work teams throughout Scotland, mainly carrying out practical and befriending tasks.

See E.M. Humphries (1983) The Ideologies of Social Work and Volunteers

Unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of Edinburgh

325 Volunteer Centre (1975) Training for Voluntary Service. Co-ordinators in the Health and Social Services. Volunteer Centre.

326 Vivienne Triseliotis challenged the agency to expand its volunteering and identified tasks for volunteers - office work, painting and decorating within the offices, and work with clients too. She argued :- "a second-best service is OK as an experiment, and in times of financial restraint, when there is no money to employ a worker." None of this advice has been taken.

Chapter Seven The Psychiatric Deluge?
(pp 237 - 287)

327 K. Woodroffe (1962) From Charity to Social Work
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p119

328 Op. cit., pp119-120

329 C. Jones, Social Work Education, 1900-1977,
in N. Parry, M. Rustin and C. Satyamurti, eds (1979)
Social Work, Welfare and the State
London : Edward Arnold, p85

330 L.B. Alexander, Social Work's Freudian Deluge : Myth
or Reality?
Social Service Review, No.46, 1972, pp 517-538

331 M.A. Yelloly (1980) Social Work Theory and
Psychoanalysis
New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, pp73-86

332 Op. cit., p66

333 I am using the term "psy" in a generic way to
encompass all the ideas, theories and practices which are
broadly derived from a psychological and psycho-analytic
frame of reference. Following the work of Foucault and
Donzelot, I accept that the arrival of the human sciences
of medicine, psychiatry, psychology and criminology (to
which social work has looked for its knowledge and
practice-base) have led to the institution of new regimes
of power exercised through disciplinary mechanisms and
the stipulation of norms for human behaviour.

See M. Foucault (1977) Discipline and Punish
London : Allen Lane

and J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson

334 K. Woodroffe (1962) Ib. id.

335 Op. cit. p126

336 J. Donzelot (1980) Ib. id.

337 Op. cit., xxiii

cf M. Foucault (1978) The History of Sexuality (Vol. 1)
New York : Random House

338 J. Donzelot (1980) Ib. id., xxiv

339 P. Miller and N. Rose (1986) The Power of Psychiatry
Oxford : Polity Press, p3

340 op. cit., p3

341 M. Foucault (1977) Ib. id.

342 P. Miller and N. Rose, Governing Economic Life. Economy and Society, Vol. 19 No. 1 (Feb 1990), p30

343 Progressive Matrices (1938), prepared for the Research Department, R.E.C.A., Colchester

344 Miss Stewart's research must be viewed in the context of a generally very rudimentary understanding of children's development. It was only at that time being realised that environment might have a fundamental effect on physical development, with studies on children who were failing to thrive. Miss Stewart's own research was never completed, and unfortunately no written records remain which evidence this work. However, it has been described to me by Miss Stewart and by another respondent.

345 G.H. Thomson (1939) The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability
London : University of London Press, pxv

346 J. Drever (1917) Instinct in Man, described in J.D. Sutherland (1989) Fairbairn's Journey into the Interior
London : Free Association Books, pp27-28

347 Information from A History of Psychology in Autobiography Volume II, (1932).
London : Clark University Press

348 C.L. Burt, The Genetic Determination of Differences in Intelligence: a study of monozygotic twins reared together and apart.
British Journal of Psychology, No.57 (1966) pp137-153

349 N. Rose (1985) The Psychological Complex
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul p85

350 See A.M. McWhinnie (1966) Adoption Assessments
London : Standing Conference of Societies Registered for Adoption, p2

351 op. cit. p5

352 Tests used by the Guild of Service were the Hillside Short Form of the Wechsler-Bellevue Examination (a kind of general knowledge test and a conceptual performance test) and the Ravens Progressive Matrices (in which a person had to carry out 60 puzzles to find the missing piece out of a collection of designs.)

For further information, see :-

R. Knight (1950 - 5th edition) Intelligence and Intelligence Tests
London : Methuen

353 Interview, 5-2-91

354 Interview, 4-5-90

355 A.M. McWhinnie (1966) *Ib. Id.*

356 Letter to me from M. Carriline, social worker and psychologist who carried out many of the tests in the agency between 1959 and 1964. (1-6-90)

357 See P.E. Vernon Intelligence Testing, 1928-1978 What Next? (1979)
Edinburgh : Scottish Council for Research in Education

358 Interview, 19-6-90

359 Letter to me from M. Carriline, 1-6-90

360 Dr McWhinnie was invited and agreed to lead these groups which were at the time revolutionary in adoption practice in Scotland.
See A.M. McWhinnie (1966) *Ib. id.* pp23-30

361 David and Ruth Kirk argued in publications and on a 1967 lecture tour that psycho-analytic theories, although useful in giving insight into past events, are not predictive - hence they cannot be used to determine what kind of adoptive parent an individual will make. They argued that it was better therefore to concentrate on helping to prepare and educate people for their future roles as adopters, instead of on screening. Their work was highly influenced by social learning theory.
See H.D. Kirk and R.V. Kirk (1966) Adoption Services at the Crossroads. The Challenge of Change
Ontario : Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies

362 B. Wootten (1959) Social Science and Social Pathology
London : Allen and Unwin, p270

363 N. Timms (1962) Casework in the Childcare Service
London : Butterworth, p16

364 M.A. Yelloly (1980) *Ib. id.*, p166

365 *Op. cit.*, pp6-11

366 The stress on the role of the mother as the person solely responsible for the child's future mental well-being has been much criticised. Michael Rutter's (1981) research suggests that children can make strong ties with

a number of significant people, not simply the primary parent-figure.

See M. Rutter (1981) Maternal Deprivation Reassessed
London : Penguin

367 A 19 year old woman whose boyfriend would not marry her refused to give up her illegitimate child. Her parents wanted her to be sent to an institution but she would not go. (1923 Casenotes)

368 John Bowlby argued that "attachment" takes place between 6 and 7 months of age; and that early separation between mother and infant inevitably leads to difficulties in adult life.

See J. Bowlby (1953) Childcare and the Growth of Love
Middlesex : Pelican Books

Also J. Bowlby (1979) The Making and Breaking of Affectional Bonds

London : Tavistock Publications

369 When Edzell Lodge Children's Home opened in 1947, it reflected and anticipated some of the forward thinking of the day, including some of the ideas put forward in Adlerian psychology. Miss Stewart was very sympathetic to the teaching of Alfred Adler, the first analyst to break with Freud and set up his own school of analysis. Adler minimised the importance of sexuality in the origin of neuroses. Instead, he introduced the concept of inferiority in determining future behaviour patterns. He claimed that all children experience feelings of inferiority, which, if handled positively, could lead to strong personal motivation and high achievement. However, when these feelings were too great to be satisfactorily overcome, for example in a person with "organ inferiority" (ie physical defects or handicap), then depression and neuroses may result. Adler believed that love and encouragement were crucial for young children in helping them to overcome their natural inferiority, as were the development of "social interest" (a concern for, and interest in others) and a reasonable degree of "activity".

See A. Adler (1924) The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology

New York : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner

370 M.A. Yelloly (1980), *Ib. id.*, p119-141

371 Some students may have been psychiatric social work students. But even those who were doing the medical and childcare courses were given substantial psycho-analytic teaching at this time.

(Interviews, 26-11-90 and 19-2-91)

372 This attitude remains very influential in social work practice. A community social worker from the mid 1980s described her work with women in No.20 (a day-centre for women and children living in the Muirhouse housing scheme) as "nurturing" the women - she saw herself as the "loving parent these women had never had". This was a "necessary first stage before the women could be weaned off and encouraged to become independent again."
(Interview, 13-3-91)

373 Any case-file selected at random from the 1960s will evidence this. However, in a specific example from 1962, the worker wrote of a pregnant woman who wanted to keep her illegitimate child, "I felt that this was rather unrealistic but did not want to dampen her enthusiasm by asking her to be more cautious (actually leading her thoughts in that direction) as I believed that she needed to feel happier.....This was the first time that we seemed to have a closer relationship and I believe it was satisfying to both. I believe that she will be more ready to accept the realities of her situation now."

374 L. Young (1954) Out of Wedlock
New York : McGraw Hill

See also Gough, who used psychotherapy with unmarried mothers in an attempt to help them to "act out Oedipal conflicts" as well as come to terms with "current and early feelings of deprivation."

D. Gough (1961) Understanding Unmarried Mothers. Observations by a Psychoanalyst

London : National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child

375 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*, p150-168

376 *Op. cit.*, p152

377 M. Foucault (1977) *Ib. id.*, pp170-194

378 M.A. Yelloly (1980) *Ib. id.*, p163

379 Case from 1972

380 Interview, 2-5-91

381 The technique used seems most likely to have been drawn from Object Relations theory.

See J. Farbairn (1989) *Ib. id.*

382 Dr. A.M. Shenkin, The Psychiatric View
in Report of a Day Conference on Unmarried Mothers, their Medical and Social Needs, 3rd June 1967,
Published by the Standing Conference of Societies
Registered for Adoption, p19

383 Because the agency has grown in size, and because social workers were no longer expected to give a lifetime service to one agency, there was a greater need for writing down information which could formerly have been held in one person's head. Clients coming to the agency by the 1960s might expect to work with more than one social worker over their time in contact with the agency - there needed to be a satisfactory way of passing on information.

Recordings were also used as a way of monitoring the service provided. Some of the most full case-notes in the 1960s are those written by student social workers, and new workers to the agency. Students brought with them a much more theoretical approach to their work, and this can be seen in their recording. But more than this, their records (impressionistic and detailed) were the supervisor's tool for assessing the quality of their work.

384 See N. Parton (1991) Governing the Family
London : MacMillan

385 For a fuller picture of the principles and practice in residential childcare at this time, see :-
B. Dockar-Drysdale (1968) Therapy in Child Care
London : Longmans

R. Balbernie (1966) Residential Work with Children
London : Pergamon Press

386 See A.S. Neill (1962) Summerhill : A Radical Approach to Education
London : Gollancz

387 P. Conrad and J.W. Schneider (1980) Deviance and Medicalisation : From Badness to Sickness
London: C.V. Mosby

388 M.A. Yelloly (1980) *Ib. id.*, pp166-1170

389 G. Johnstone, *The Psychiatric Approach to Crime - A Sociological Analysis*
Economy and Society, Vol.17 (1988) No.3 August 1988

390 One social worker described this very well. She said that she would have found it impossible to explain and therefore to accept the appallingly rejecting behaviour of two clients towards their children if she had not known about their own neglected childhoods.
(Interview 13-3-91)

391 See D. Jechu (1972) Behaviour Modification in Social Work
London : John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

392 For interactionism, see :-

P.L. Berger and T. Luckman (1967) The Social Construction of Reality

London : Penguin

For existential/humanistic psychology, see :-

C.R. Rogers (1951) Client-Centred Therapy

Boston : Houghton Mifflin

For Transactional Analysis, see :-

M. James and D. Jongeward (1971) Born to Win

New York : Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

The social work practice within Family Care in the 1980s in both individual counselling and groupwork settings lent heavily on psychoanalytic ideas translated through transactional and existential psychology. Both transactional and existential psychology offer the possibility of self-actualisation - of the client/counsellor making her/his own discoveries. This fitted the post-"psychiatric deluge" social workers' need to engage in a more egalitarian way with clients.

Carl Rogers writes :-

"Individuals have within themselves vast resources for self understanding and for altering their self-concepts, basic attitudes, and self-directed behaviour; these resources can be tapped if a definable climate of facilitative psychological attitudes can be provided."

(C.R. Rogers (1980) Way of Being

Boston : Houghton Mifflin, p115)

393 For systems theory, see :-

T. Parsons (1951) The Social System

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

A. Pincus and A. Minahan (1973) Social Work Practice. Model and Method

Itasca I.L. : F.E. Peacock

H. Specht and A. Vickery, eds. (1977) Integrating Social Work Methods

London : Allen and Unwin

394 For radical social work see :-

R. Bailey and M. Brake, eds. (1975) Radical Social Work

London : Edward Arnold

395 See C.C.E.T.S.W. Paper 30 Requirements and

Regulations for the Diploma in Social Work, 1989, London

396 M. Foucault (1977) *Ib. id.*

397 C. Jones (1979) *Ib. id.*, p86

398 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*

399 M.A. Yelloly (1980), *Ib. id.*, pp73-74

400 CCETSW (1989) *Ib. id.*

Chapter Eight Women and the Social Work Task
(pp 288 - 331)

401 E. Wilson (1977) Women and the Welfare State
London : Tavistock, pp83-84

402 L. Dominelli and E. McLeod (1989) Feminist Social Work
London : MacMillan, p16

403 The under-representativeness of men in the organisation is partly attributable to the nature of the work. Moral welfare has always attracted a higher proportion of women social workers largely because this work is seen in gendered terms as concerned with "women's issues". But another factor has to be the lower pay and career advancement opportunities (internal promotions, external job transfers) traditionally possible in the voluntary sector. When Janet Lusk retired as Director in 1983, her salary had to be vastly uprated to attract good-quality applicants. The resultant short-list for the post contained 4 men and one woman - the woman, Kate Priestley, was chosen on merit.

The question of women and men in social work is explored more fully in :-

R.G. Walton (1975) Women in Social Work
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

A. Kadushin, Men in a Woman's Profession
Social Work, 21, (1976) pp440-447

404 E. Ethelmer (pen-name of Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy) (1893) Woman Free
Congleton : Women's Emancipation Union, p20

405 Other organisations did however push familial ideas at this time. During the 1920s and 1930s there was an explosion of new social/ educational groups which promulgated ideas about the value of motherhood and the correct way to bring up children.

406 See L. Bland, The Married Woman, the New Woman and the Feminist. Sexual Politics in the 1890s
in J. Rendall (1987) Equal or Different. Women's Politics, 1800-1914
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

407 Donzelot would argue that this is a picture of the modern post-patriarchal family. I believe, however, that Donzelot under-estimates the continuing imbalance of power in modern families.
See J. Donzelot (1980) The Policing of Families
London : Hutchinson

408 Quotation by Marion Phillips, executive member of the women's section of the Labour Party in the 1920s.
From D. Riley (1988) Am I that Name?
London : MacMillan

409 The Work of Women as Poor Law Guardians,
Westminster Review, Vol.123, 1885
from P. Hollis (1979) Women in Public
London : Allen and Unwin

410 Rescue homes were found to have a very high percentage of women who had been living as domestic servants.
See J.R. and D.J. Walkowitz, We are not Beasts of the Field
in M. Hartman and L.W. Banner (1974) Clio's Consciousness Raised
New York : Harper and Row

411 The records hint that factories employing large numbers of women were seen as "hot-beds" of potential corruption of women, as was seasonal work on farms. The jute mills in Dundee came in for special attention in the 1930s, when the NVA in Edinburgh spreads its net to include Dundee, Forfar and Perth.

412 The terms "feminism" and "feminist" only arrived in Britain from France in 1895, and even then were rarely used. Definitions of "feminist" and "feminism" are very much open to question. Some argue that only those who are consciously feminist in their actions and values can be called feminist; others, like Olive Banks, prefer a broader definition. She asserts that "any groups that have tried to change the position of women, or ideas about women, have been granted the title feminist."
See O. Banks (1981) Faces of Feminism
Oxford : Martin Robertson, p3

Bland uses the terms retrospectively to refer to "thoughts, actions and persons that challenged the existing power of men over women and its consequent inequalities."

See L. Bland (1987) *Ib. id.*, p142

413 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*

414 See Lady Frances Balfour's own memoirs :-
Lady F. Balfour (1930) Me Obliviscaris
London : Hodder and Stoughton

Also entry on Balfour in :-
O. Banks (1985) Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists, 1800-1930
Sussex : Wheatsheaf Books, pp10-12

415 O. Banks (1986) Becoming a Feminist

Sussex : Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., pp6-7

416 S. Rowbotham (1983) There's Always been a Women's Movement this Century
London : Pandora Press

417 Op. cit., p82

418 Morris (1991) makes a distinction between the "subscriber democracies" favoured by the middle-classes and the "network of neighbourhood societies" (for example, friendly societies) favoured by the working-classes and some of their middle-class allies.
See R.J. Morris (1991) Clubs, Societies and Associations, 1750-1950
Cambridge : Cambridge Social History

419 E. Wilson, Feminism and Social Policy
in M. Loney et al, eds, (1983) Social Policy and Social Welfare
Milton Keynes : Open University Press, p36

420 B. Taylor (1983) Eve and the New Jerusalem
London : Virago

421 For example, on a committee concerned with women's unemployment.
See Executive Committee minutes, 20-3-19

422 See Executive Committee minutes for 1921, 1926, 1927 and 1928.

423 See Executive Committee minutes, 27-8-41

424 In 1941, the agency transposed its already-existing double title, so that the organisation became "The Guild of Service for Women : The National Vigilance Association of Scotland."

425 The shift which took place within this agency exemplified changes which were taking place throughout the social work world. During the Second World War there was widespread public interest in children - the Clyde and Curtis reports of 1947 and the Children Act (1948) had been preceded by concerns about the experiences of children who had been evacuated during the war; about standards of care at wartime nurseries; and a public outcry at the death of a young boy (Denis O'Neil) in foster care in Wales. There was also a general desire (expressed to me by all respondents who have lived through the war) that something had to be done to safeguard the next generation - that the children of the nation mattered.

426 D. Riley (1988) Am I that Name?
London : Macmillan

427 I am referring here to my interviews with 6 staff members and 6 committee members who joined the agency after the war and into the 1950s.

428 Committee members include women who worked as Officers in the WRAF and the army, and even someone who worked for military intelligence in the secret service in Washington.

429 Interview, 23-5-91

430 B. Taylor (1983) *Ib. id.*

431 V. Brittain (1953) Lady into Woman
London : Andrew Dakers

On a similar vein, the Women's Cooperative Guild saw the development of social services as an achievement to be proud of, one which they had fought long and hard for :-
"The development of social services in this country has come about largely from the prodding and pressure of women who have a very high sense of responsibility, and our own Committee has played a very great part in the development of these services."

Women's Cooperative Guild, HM Government, (1949), quoted in E. Wilson (1983) *Ib. id.*

432 R. Walton (1975) Women in Social Work
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

433 E. Younghusband (1947) Report on the Employment and Training of Social Workers
Carnegie UK Trust, p5

434 J.S. Chafetz, Women in Social Work
Social Work, Vol. 17, No.5. Sept. 1972

435 D. Kravetz, Sexism in a Woman's Profession.
Social Work, Vol. 21, No. 6, Nov. 1976, pp421-426

436 One Secretary/Treasurer, one Volunteers' Organiser and one caseworker.

437 A. Kadushin (1976) *Ib. id.*

438 In 1950, 72% of Children's Officers were female ; in 1977, only 7% of Directors and 20% of senior managers were women. See:-

D. Howe, The Segregation of Women and their Work in the Personal Social Services
Critical Social Policy, 15, Spring 1986

439 The marriage bar in the civil service was abolished in 1946. However, the employment of married women

remained very uneven, and many private and public employers continued to sack women on their engagement or marriage. It has been reported to me that although there were very few qualified childcare workers in the early 1960s, making those who came off courses a "very prized species", some councils eg Dumbarton would not employ married women.

Interview 13-2-91

440 McCrone states that in 1951, 34 per cent of women above school leaving age in Scotland were economically active. By 1981, this had risen to 47 per cent. The number of economically active women in Scotland has risen by 38 per cent between 1951 and 1981 (from 688,000 to 950,000) while the number of men in the labour force has fallen by about 9 per cent (from 1,585,000 to 1,439,000).

He suggests that the single most important shift has been the entry of married women into paid employment. The expansion of employment in the service sector, coupled with the declining number of single women in the population at large (more women marry, and at a younger age) has brought more married women into the labour market. By 1981, 57 per cent of married women in Scotland under 60 were economically active, and certain low paid occupations were overwhelmingly female.

See D. McCrone (1992) Understanding Scotland : the Sociology of a Stateless Nation
London : Routledge

441 The agency's commitment to "staff development" was positively valued by most of the social workers whom I interviewed. But this changed in the 1980s when financial restraint put a damper on the generosity of spirit which had characterised earlier policy. This was most vividly witnessed in the decision to make five residential social workers redundant with no alternative arrangements offered when Edzell Lodge closed in 1983.

442 C.A. Chambers, Women in the Creation of the Profession of Social Work
Social Service Review, March 1986, pp1-33

443 See H. Land, Time to Care
in M. MacLean and D. Groves eds (1991) Women's Issues in Social Policy
London : Routledge, pp7-20

444 See V. Beechey, Familial Ideology
in V. Beechey and J. Donald (1985) Subjectivity and Social Relations
Milton Keynes : Open University, p101

445 E. Wilson (1977) Women and the Welfare State (1977)
London : Tavistock

446 op. cit., p9

447 Veronica Beechey offers a useful "preliminary working definition" of familial ideology. It refers to systems of belief which :-

1. describe a particular kinship system and set of living arrangements (the co-resident nuclear family) and assert that this form of family is universal and normatively desirable;

2. assert that the form of sexual division of labour in which the women is housewife and mother and primarily located within the private world of the family, and the man is wage-earner and bread-winner and primarily located in the "public" world of paid work is universal and normatively desirable."

V. Beechey (1985) *Ib. id.*, p99

448 D. Riley (1983) War in the Nursery
London : Virago

449 op. cit., p11

450 M. McIntosh, *The Welfare State and the Needs of the Dependent Family*
in S. Burnam, ed. (1979) Fit Work for Women
London : Croom Helm

451 Ideology is usually portrayed as something which operates as a single, independent entity which acts on the world, and is somehow immune to other factors. Discourse seems more useful to me - more useful because it allows for contradictions and change; and the overlapping with and crossing over other discourses.

452 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*

453 op. cit., p96

454 op. cit., p103

455 Donzelot's work has been criticised not only because it is obtuse and difficult to read, but because he at root betrays some very sexist and anti-feminist writing. It has been suggested that Donzelot mourns the loss of the patriarchal family, and blames women for this process. He would argue that his work is purely descriptive, and that he does not take sides on this question.

See M. Barrett and M. McIntosh (1982) The Anti-Social Family
London : Verso, pp95-105

Also F. Bennett et al., *Feminists - the Degenerates of the Social?*, Politics and Power, 3, 1981

and the response by P. Hirst, The Genesis of the Social, Politics and Power, 3, 1981

456 For more on the partial nature of social work's controlling of families, see :-

R. Dingwall, J. Eekelaar and T. Murray (1983)

The Protection of Children : State Intervention and Family Life

Oxford : Basil Blackwell

457 See J. Bowlby (1941) Maternal Care and Mental Health
World Health Organisation

and J. Bowlby (1953) Childcare and the Growth of Love
London : Pelican

D.W. Winnicott, and C. Britton (1944) The Problem of Homeless Children

In "Children's Communities". New Education Fellowship
Monograph No. 1

and D.W. Winnicott (1957) The Child, the Family and the Outside World

London : Tavistock

D. Burlingham and A. Freud (1944) Infants without Families

London : Allen and Unwin

458 Barrett and McIntosh explain this in terms of the broad social diffusion and misrepresentation of psychoanalytic theory :-

"Above all, it seems, we now fear that a child brought up without a mother and a father-figure will be incapable of identification and will not learn its gender identity properly or even develop a fully mature personality."

See M. Barrett and M. McIntosh (1982) *Ib. id.*, p26

459 Jane Rowe's textbook was the Guild of Service manual on adoption for many years. She warns against women who take too great an interest in their careers and men who drink to excess.

J. Rowe (1966) Parents, Children and Adoption

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p164

460 I examined records of prospective adopters to find out why couples were rejected by the agency. I found to my surprise that none of these couples who were rejected were turned down because of their unconventional life-styles, or even because the wife was working. All of them presented themselves as having totally conventional marital relationships, and many of the women had already given up work in preparation for motherhood. Couples were turned down for other reasons - low anticipated life-expectancy; mental health problems; poor marital relationship.

461 In the early days of the agency, this support most often meant finding work and accommodation for the mother and child, and chasing the father to contribute maintenance payments. In later years, the agency had far greater resources at its disposal - trust funds to apply to ; a casework service ; groupwork ; and later a volunteers' befriending scheme and a holiday caravan.

462 J. Donzelot (1980) *Ib. id.*

463 BASW Principles of Social Work Practice include :-
"Respect for clients as individuals and safeguarding their dignity and rights;
Empowerment of clients and their participation in decisions and defining services."
Birmingham : BASW

464 B. Holman (1988) Putting Families First
London : MacMillan

465 Brook Advisory Centre opened in Edinburgh in 1968. Its aim was to provide free contraceptive advice to young unmarried women. Its opening led to a storm of protest in Edinburgh - at this time, only married women (or those who were soon to be married) could receive contraceptive advice through the N.H.S. Family Planning Centre.

When the Lane Committee was set up in 1970 to review the workings of the Abortion Act, the Guild of Service joined a working group alongside Brook Clinic, Scottish Council for Single Parents and Simpsons Memorial Maternity Hospital social work staff. The group's concern was that "if a G.P. was in favour of abortion, you got a rubber stamp and no counselling; if the G.P. was not in favour, you got nothing." (Interview, 10-4-91)

The working group recommended that all women should be entitled to counselling prior to abortion, to allow them to explore their options more fully. The Guild of Service was seen as the agency in the best position to do this counselling, because of its professional approach to counselling and its commitment to unmarried mothers. For just under 2 years, between 1971 and 1973, the Guild of Service did all the abortion counselling for the Brook Clinic. Then in 1973 Brook Clinic appointed its own social workers, and from then on both agencies continued to carry out their own "pregnancy counselling." (This became the preferred term in both agencies.)

466 L. Dominelli and E. McLeod (1989) *Ib. id.*, pp139-140

467 J. Dale and P. Foster (1986) Feminists and State Welfare
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

D. Howe (1986) Ib. id.

468 J. Hale, Feminism and Social Work Practice
in B. Jordan and N. Parton, eds (1984) The Political Dimensions of Social Work
Oxford : Basil Blackwell

A. Hudson (1986) Troublesome Girls
in Girls in Trouble - Whose Problem? New approaches to
work with young women for social work agencies
London : Rainer Foundation

M. Maynard, The Response of Social Workers to Domestic Violence
in J. Pahl, ed. (1985) Private Violence and Public Policy
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul

S. Nelson (1982) Incest - Fact and Myth
Edinburgh : Stramullion

F.D. Wright (1986) Left to Care Alone
Aldershot : Gower

469 N. Chodorow (1978) The Reproduction of Mothering : Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender
Berkeley : University of California Press

G. Dalley, Ideologies of Care : A Feminist Contribution to the Debate
Critical Social Policy, 8, Autumn 1983, pp72-81

G. Dalley (1988) Ideologies of Caring
London : MacMillan

J. Finch, Community Care : Developing Non-sexist Alternatives
Critical Social Policy, 9, Spring 1984, pp6-18

H. Graham, Caring : A Labour of Love
in J. Finch and D. Groves eds (1983) Women, Work and Caring
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp13-30

C. Ungerson, Why do Women Care?
in J. Finch and D. Groves eds (1983), Ib. id., pp31-49

470 The Guild of Service changed its name to Family Care in 1978. The old name was seen as old-fashioned and out-of-place in the modern social work world; the new name was sufficiently all-encompassing that it would not only cover the present work of the agency, but leave room for possible developments in the future. It was also felt to be non-contentious, and likely to invoke the sympathy of the general public when it came to raising funds.
Interview with Janet Lusk, 25-5-90

471 No.20 centre for women and children which opened in 1985 grew out of a group for women and children run by two Family Care social workers of which I was one. No.20 states its aims and objectives are :-

"to provide a supportive environment for women to meet in, space for them to develop as individuals, an opportunity to share in decision-making and take on responsibilities in the project. Through work with individuals and formal and informal groupwork, women have opportunities to explore issues relating to their own lives such as childcare, health and relationships, and hopefully to grow in confidence and self-esteem."
(From Update on No.20, August 1987 - March 1988)

472 New feminist approaches to counselling have stressed the importance of "feminine" skills in counselling, and the need to employ a non-hierarchical, rhythmic model as a way of conceptualising the change process.
See J. Chaplin (1988) Feminist Counselling in Action
London : Sage Publications

473 My own experience as one of the "feminist social workers", plus interviews with social workers from both sides of the debate confirm this point.

474 Interview, 13-3-91

475 Sue Wise argues that social work must always be first and foremost about policing minimum acceptable standards for people who are vulnerable - particularly about the care and protection of children - therefore feminist social work must start with this premise.
See S. Wise (1985) Becoming A Feminist Social Worker
Studies in Sexual Politics, No. 6 : University of Manchester

476 Annie Hudson sees this as fairly typical. She claims that although some practitioners may be concerned about gender, social work agencies are less so. She suggests that in spite of the fact that there is now some awareness of gender in social work courses and professional associations, social work "still ignores the way women's experiences are structured by oppression."
See A. Hudson, Changing Perspectives : Feminism, Gender and Social Work
in M. Langan and P. Lee (1989) Radical Social Work Today
London : Unwin Hyman, p76

477 One business-man committee member whom I interviewed talked endlessly about the merits of good "man-management" - yet all the staff at this time were women! He felt strongly that what the agency needed was a *manager* as director, not a social worker - someone who would be able to stand back from the needs of the clients (from the "feelings") and make the "hard decisions" which were needed. Other respondents concurred with this view.

Interview, 20-6-91

478 Interview with Jennifer Speirs, Director, 2-7-91

479 E. Wilson (1977) *Ib. id.*

480 C. Ramazanoglu (1989) Feminism and the Contradictions
of Oppression
London : Routledge

Chapter Nine Voluntary Action - A Moving Frontier
(pp 332 - 387)

481 Hansard, Parliamentary Debates (House of Lords) 5th ser., vol. 163, col. 119 (23 June 1949)

482 American management guru Peter Drucker claims that there are "new realities, in government and politics ... in economy and business ... in society ... and in world view." Underpinning the new realities is a rejection of the notion of salvation by society - "the promise of an everlasting society which achieves both social perfection and individual perfection, a society which establishes the earthly paradise."

See P. Drucker (1989) The New Realities
London : Heinemann

483 Caring for People. Community Care in the Next Decade and Beyond. (1989) HMSO Cm 849, London

484 See P. Thane (1982) The Foundations of the Welfare State
London : Longman, p294

485 G. Finlayson, A Moving Frontier
Twentieth Century British History, vol 1 no 2, 1990,
pp186-206

486 Op. cit., p189

487 The Poor Law Commission met between 1905 and 1909 and finally produced two reports, a Majority Report which reflected the views of the Charity Organisation Society and was written largely by Helen Bosanquet, and a Minority Report, produced by Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

For a full analysis of the two reports, see :-
A.M. McBriar (1987) An Edwardian Mixed Doubles
Oxford : Clarendon Press

488 N. Fowler (1984), Speech to Local Authority Social Services Conference, quoted in :-
A. Webb and G. Wistow (1987) Social Work, Social Care and Social Planning
London : Longman

489 F.A. Hayek (1944) The Road to Serfdom
Chicago University Press : Chicago

490 Marsh (1970) suggests that the emphasis on universality in state welfare services has obscured the fact that benefits were still limited to "persons having specified needs in times of specified contingencies".

See D.C. Marsh (1970) The Welfare State

London : Longman, pp6-7

491 The Barclay Report stressed the complementarity of the statutory and voluntary sectors - that each could compensate for the weaknesses in the other, by working together to plan a "mutually reinforcing" partnership. This would be achieved by the personal social services developing much closer links with informal networks of local citizens and with voluntary organisations in the planning and delivery of services - "community social work".

Barclay Committee, Social Workers : their Roles and Tasks (1982), London : Bedford Square Press

492 Berger and Neuhaus argue that public policy should be built around the central importance of "mediating structures" in people's lives, defining mediating structures as :- "those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life, in particular family, neighbourhood, church, voluntary associations, and ethnic and racial subcultures."

See P.L. Berger and R.J. Neuhaus (1977) To Empower People : The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy

Washington DC : American Enterprise

493 R. Hadley and S. Hatch (1981) Social Welfare and the Failure of the State

London : Allen and Unwin

494 Op. cit., pp166-167

495 The Future of Voluntary Organisations. Report of the Wolfenden Committee (1978), Croom Helm, London

Brenton (1985) suggests that the most positive contribution of the Wolfenden Report was to underline the importance and interrelatedness of the four systems for meeting social need - the statutory, voluntary, informal and commercial, and to insist on the need for government to develop a policy with regard to the integration of the first three at least.

See M. Brenton (1985) The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services

London : Longman

496 F.J. Gladstone (1979) Voluntary Action in a Changing World

London : Bedford Square Press

497 Griffiths Report, Community Care : Agenda for Action (1988), HMSO, London

- 498 Caring for People. Community Care in the Next Decade and Beyond. (1989) HMSO Cm 849, London, p86
- 499 M. Brenton (1985) *Ib. id.*, p222
- 500 See also :-
P. Beresford and S. Croft, Welfare Pluralism : the new face of Fabianism.
Critical Social Policy Issue 9, Spring 1984
- 501 M. Brenton (1985) *Ib. id.*, p172
- 502 M. Brenton (1985) *Ib. id.*
- S. Hatch (1980) Outside the State. Voluntary Organisations in Three Towns
London : Croom Helm
- N. Johnson (1981) Voluntary Social Services
Oxford : Blackwell and Robertson
- G.J. Murray (1969) Voluntary Organisations and Social Welfare
Glasgow : Oliver and Boyd
- M. Rooff (1957) Voluntary Societies and Social Policy
London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, pxiii
- Wolfenden Committee, The Future of Voluntary Organisations (1978) London : Croom Helm
- 503 Brenton (1985) *Ib. id.*, p9
- 504 R.M. Kramer (1981) Voluntary Agencies in the Welfare State
California : University of California Press, p37
- 505 *Op. cit.*, p4
- 506 *Op. cit.*, p9
- 507 *Op. cit.*, pp173-192
- 508 Wolfenden Committee, The Future of Voluntary Organisations (1978)
London : Croom Helm, pp46-47
- 509 Annual Report, 1933, p15
- 510 Interview with Miss Stewart, 17-7-90
- 511 This is totally predictable considering that members of the Clyde Committee were committee members of the NVA, and Lady Clyde and Miss Stewart knew each other personally.
Interview with Miss Stewart, 17-7-90

(Clyde Committee, Committee on Homeless Children, Cmd. 6911)

512 E. Younghusband (1964) Social Work and Social Change
London : Allen and Unwin

513 R.M. Kramer (1979) *Ib id.*, p477

514 Interview with ex-Secretary/Treasurer, 4-4-90

515 See 1981 Lothian Regional Council Report - A Time of Change

516 Interview, 20-2-91

517 Mother and Baby Homes in Scotland became very unpopular and gradually closed down in the 1970s to be replaced by supported flats for single parents. Mother and Baby Homes had a bad reputation at this time for being punitive and moralistic in their approach, and increasingly women refused to use them.
Interview, 18-2-91

518 Figures for 1968 illustrate this point :-

Edinburgh Corporation grant	£400
Scottish Educn. Dept. grant	£1,490
Maintenance contributions	£4,597
Thrift Shop profits	£10,959

519 Figures for 1974 are as follows :-

Local authority grants	casework	£3,508
	adoption	£4,318
	adoption placements	£2,049
	Edzell Lodge	£18,331
Social Work Services Group grants	(adoption)	£3,784
(South East Scotland Resource Centre)		£4,835
Scottish Education Department grant	(student unit)	£5,305
Thrift Shop		£14,464

520 R.M. Kramer (1981) *Ib. id.*, pp193-211

521 B. Humphries (1976) Only Connect
Edinburgh : Guild of Service, p167

522 E.M. Humphries (1983) The Ideologies of Social Workers and Volunteers : Effect of these on Services offered to Clients of Social Work Departments
Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Edinburgh, p381

523 One single parent was briefly a Policy Committee member in 1987, but soon gave up because of pressure of commitments. This idea has not been repeated.

524 Interview, 21-3-91

See also Annual Report, 1991-1992

525 The Aves Committee was set up to look at the volunteer's need for preparation and his/her relationship with professional social workers. After a national survey of organisations using volunteers, the Committee concluded that "the social services ... give almost unlimited scope for voluntary effort."

See Aves Report (1969) The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services

London : National Institute for Social Work Training

526 See E.M. Humphries (1983) *Ib. id.*

527 Volunteer Centre (1975) Training for Voluntary Service. Co-ordinators in the Health and Social Services, Volunteer Centre.

528 R.M. Kramer (1981) *Ib. id.*, pp212-232

529 Interview, 18-2-91.

530 N. Bruce, A. Mitchell and K. Priestley (1988) Truth and the Child

Edinburgh : Family Care

531 N. Hinton and M. Clyde (1982) The Voluntary Sector in the Remodelled Welfare State

Yearbook of Social Policy, 1980-81

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p12

532 T. Matthews (1989) What Price Empowerment?

Unpublished MSc Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, p58

533 1870 Education Act; 1872 Public Health Act; 1875 Criminal Law Amendment Act; 1905-9 Poor Law Royal Commission; 1906 and 1907 Education Acts; 1908 Old Age Pensions Act; 1911 National Insurance Act; 1912 Criminal Law Amendment Act

534 Report of the Care of Children Committee (Cmd. 6922) known as the Curtis Committee

535 Committee on Homeless Children (Cmd. 6911), known as the Clyde Committee

536 Information from interview with ex-Child (Life) Protection and Adoption Officer for Edinburgh Children's Department, 1949 to 1969.
(Interview 12-11-89)

537 J. Johnston, The First Five Years : Success or Failure?

538 Figures for children in care of local authorities in England and Wales quoted by Heywood are as follows :-

1946 46,000 children in care

1949 55,255 children in care

1953 65,309 children in care

See J.S. Heywood (1965) Children in Care

London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, p161

539 Although the Children's Department staff referred children to the Guild of Service Children's Homes, these referrals were often unsuccessful, because the Guild's children's homes were already full.

(Interview, 26-3-90)

540 This does not imply that there was a drastic policy change which effectively wiped out what had gone before. In many ways, the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 and the developments which grew out of this were predictable and expected given the acceptance in the post-war legislation of the principle of universal, statutory services. Then in the early 1960s, two government committees were set up to look at different aspects of children's welfare - the McBoyle Committee on the neglect of children in their own homes (1961-1963), and the Kilbrandon Committee on juvenile delinquents and juveniles in need of care (1961-1964). Their work led to the establishment of the Children and Young Person's Act of 1963 which consolidated existing legislation and also extended the powers of the local authorities to "promote the welfare of children". (See Children and Young Person's Act, 1963, Section 1 (i))

In 1966, a White Paper entitled "Social Work and the Community" was published which proposed the re-organisation of social work services in Scotland. English (1988) sets the White Paper in the context of a number of strands working together - greater unity amongst social workers; a recognition of the potential for wasteful and potentially harmful effects of dividing responsibility between different specialists; and the difficulties in organising any preventive work when services were so geared towards crisis and breakdown. The White Paper argued that instead of implementing the Kilbrandon proposals in isolation, the opportunity should be taken to fundamentally re-shape statutory social services - to create new, comprehensive social work departments to take over the functions of the previous overlapping and ill-co-ordinated social work and childcare services. The proposal was that "local authority services designed to provide community care and support, whether for children, the handicapped, the mentally and physically ill or the aged, should be brought within a single organisation."

(See Social Work and the Community, Cmnd. 3065, HMSO, 1966, para 8)

For a full report on these developments, see :-
J. English (1988) Social Services in Scotland
Edinburgh : Scottish Academic Press

541 Social Work (Scotland) Act (1968), Section 12 (1), pp7-8

(Although the Act was enacted in 1968, the part referring to the powers and duties of the new social work authorities did not come into effect until November 1969. Part 3 dealing with the Children's Hearing system was not implemented until April 1971.)

542 The Seebohm Report in England and Wales reflected the same underlying principle that welfare was rightly the responsibility of the state, with the voluntary sector relegated to the position of helper, filling gaps and pioneering new ideas.

543 See Social Work in Scotland. Report by a Working Party on the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. (1969) Edinburgh : Department of Social Administration, University of Edinburgh

544 Janet Lusk writing in Annual Report, 1965

545 The Development Group was made up of seven Guild of Service committee members, seven members of staff, one Scottish Office observer, and an independent chairman who was a University of Edinburgh social work tutor. Critically, there was no local authority representation, and not even a mention of this in any of the minutes of the group meetings. This gives a clear indication about the agency's belief in its autonomy and its ability to determine its own direction irrespective of local authority plans.

546 For example Edinburgh Council of Social Service reviewed itself in the early 1970s and changed from being a casework agency to adopting a community development model, servicing other agencies rather than providing services itself.
Interview, 3-6-92

547 See report in Guild of Service Newsletter, No. 5, November 1975

548 Letter to Development Group chairman dated October 1975 where Janet Lusk writes :- "I sometimes worry that we lost sight of our original aims ... "
And interview, 25-5-90.

549 F.E. Emery and E.L. Trist (1965) Towards a Social Ecology
London : Plenum Publishing

550 Local government reorganisation in 1975 was particularly important here, with its creation of new, vast, centralised departments encompassing large geographical areas. Fifty local authorities were compressed into only twelve new regional councils. Before and after re-organisation, the new social work departments grew rapidly. Numbers of staff employed almost doubled between 1971 and 1981. Figures quoted in English (1988) for full time equivalent staff numbers in Scottish social work departments are as follows :-

1971 under 15,000

1981 nearly 28,000

1986 32,000

See J. English (1988) *Ib. id.*, Figure 6.1, p124

Re-organisation had a huge impact in terms of consolidating and centralising power. As one respondent declared - "an immense elephant with monopoly control was created."

(Interview 3-12-90)

551 See M. Stone, All Change in Child Care. Unpublished paper, September 1984
Glasgow : Queen's College

552 N. Newman and H. Mackintosh (1976) A Roof over their Heads?
Edinburgh : Edinburgh University

553 Interviews 21-2-91 (two interviews), 6-3-91

554 It is questionable how far local authorities had pre-determined policy at this time themselves, and it seems more likely that they were working out policy and practice as they went along, relying heavily for guidance from the more powerful voluntary agencies.

For a useful analysis of the process by voluntary organisations of negotiating funding from statutory sources, see :-

J. Mordaunt (1992) The Funding Game : A Case-study of Voluntary Statutory Relationships
Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Edinburgh

555 M. Brenton (1985) *Ib. id.*, p128

556 The study by Rowe and Lambert, "Children who Wait", published in 1973 was enormously influential in highlighting the problem of "drift" in care - of children who had been taken into care for specific reasons but who had then been allowed to remain in care with no adequate

plans being made for their futures. Local authority social work departments devised their own policy statements in response to this and other findings on the needs of children. Lothian Regional Council's statement in 1981 "A Time of Change" and its movements towards permanent solutions for children reflect this thinking - no child under the age of 12 years was to be taken into a residential unit if that could be avoided. Lothian's Youth Strategy policy of the mid 1980s extended this further to encompass adolescents as well as younger children.

See J. Rowe and L. Lambert (1973) Children who Wait
London : Association of British Adoption Agencies

557 By 1981, in common with Barnardo's, the Guild of Service (now called Family Care) was charging local authorities the full cost of maintenance of children in care; and at the same time, was paying staff the agreed NJC rate, including overtime, for the hours worked. This meant that the comparative savings in using Edzell Lodge as opposed to a statutory children's home were likely to be small. Brenton (1985) describes the assumption that voluntary agencies will always be more cost-effective as "ideologically biased wishful thinking."
See M. Brenton (1985) *Ib. id.*, p186

558 M. Stone, The Boot is on the Other Foot
Community Care, August 29, 1985, pp21-23

559 The pendulum seems to have swung back today to a recognition that there are a small number of children who have been so damaged that they are unable to fit easily into a family environment, such as are provided in foster or community care settings.
See A Model of Success, Community Care, 11 October 1990, pp24-25 for an example of such thinking in action.

560 R.M. Kramer (1981) *Ib. id.*, p251

561 Figures quoted by Ross Flockhart, Director of Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations
in Third Sector, 16-9-91

562 This report recommends that government should formulate clear aims for its funding of voluntary organisations, and clarify its perception of the voluntary sector's role and funding arrangements. There should be a closer scrutiny of the match between departmental policy objectives and the funding of voluntary organisations. General funding schemes are to be phased out and in their place, grant schemes should be developed in consultation with the voluntary sector, and regularly reviewed. Core funding should be awarded on a three-yearly basis, and should cease where no longer effective or relevant to policy objectives.

See Efficient Scrutiny of Government Funding of the Voluntary Sector. Profiting from Partnership (1990), London : HMSO

563 S. Maxwell (1989) Riding the Tiger. The Scottish Voluntary Sector in the Market Economy
Edinburgh : SCVO

564 See J. Palmer (1990) Employment Training : The Decline of Care?
Edinburgh : SCVO

565 Different respondents have accounted for this in different ways. Some believe the merger idea was a non-starter in the first place, not least because of the great differences in the agencies. Others believe that the plans could have come to fruition if the management had not changed at a critical time in negotiations.

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571 The thesis is approximately 80,000 words long, plus references and footnotes.

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589 Margaret Mackay, Director of Childline, reported in Social Work Today, 5th November 1992